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On the Efforts of Missionaries among Savages. By the Right Rev. J. W. COLENSO, D.D., Lord Bishop of Natal.

ON a former occasion, at the invitation of your secretary, I attended a meeting of this society, of which I have not the honour to be myself a member, for the purpose of hearing Mr. Reade's paper upon *The Efforts of Missionaries among Savages*. I need hardly say, that having had some personal connection myself with such "efforts," having laboured for some years in the endeavour to improve a heathen race, rude and savage as any of those to whom the paper in question was likely to refer, I felt a peculiar interest in the subject, and listened to the lecture with close attention. There were some statements in it from which I dissented, and some which I much regretted; yet I felt that it was good to have had the question raised—to have had the work of missions among savages inspected and discussed from a layman's point of view; and I was too well aware, from my own observation and experience, that some of Mr. Reade's strictures were far from being undeserved. Upon the whole, however, I thought it would be best, rather than express myself in a few hasty words, which would but imperfectly convey my views, and would be very liable to be misunderstood, to request permission to lay before you more deliberately my thoughts upon the subject, as I propose to do on the present occasion.

Mr. Reade's account of the corrupt habits of native converts—that "every Christian negress whom he met with was a prostitute, and every Christian negro a thief,"—to whatever extent it may have been justified by the facts which fell under his observation, must be supposed, of course, to apply especially to that part of Western Africa in which he has spent five months of his life. But, in so short a time, as your President observed, it would seem to be impossible for any one to form a fair and true estimate of the entire results of missionary labours among the natives of any district. And that missionary, I imagine, spoke only the simple and obvious truth who said to Mr. Reade, "You cannot measure the amount of moral influence which our teachings exercise." It would have been impossible to do so without more intimate knowledge of the native language, and closer acquaintance with the ways and doings of the people, than such a hasty visit could have permitted. I presume, however, that there were *some* outward signs on which Mr. Reade must have based his judgment, and that in certain cases which came more immediately under his eye there was great dishonesty among the men, and great immodesty among the women. But admitting this, it would be only fair to suppose that this state of things may possibly be exceptional upon a coast where the slave-trade, with all its abominations, has so long prevailed, and is still, notoriously, more or less extensively practised; where, consequently, whatever good instructions may have been given by the missionaries, or whatever good examples may have been set by the better class of white residents, laymen

as well as missionaries, must have been to a great extent neutralised by the vicious conduct of others. I conceive, therefore, that Mr. Reade may have been, perhaps, unfortunate in having had the immediate neighbourhood of the Slave Coast as the only locality in which he has had an opportunity of examining into the "Efforts of Missionaries among Savages." Having no personal acquaintance, however, with that coast, I shall confine my remarks chiefly to the savage tribes of South-Eastern Africa, among whom my own lot has been cast, and to the mission-work which is carried on among them.

Before I proceed, however, let me say that, of course, I shall not think it necessary to discuss any of Mr. Reade's expressions of religious opinion. It was distinctly stated on the former occasion that those present were in no respect committed to the approval of the views expressed in any paper, because they accorded their thanks to the lecturer for the pains he had taken in laying those views before them. In a body of scientific inquirers like this it is obvious that the expression of religious opinion must be free, provided only that it is kept within the bounds, which the charities of social life require each right-minded person to keep, when enunciating propositions which he is aware may be unacceptable, may be even offensive and painful, to some of those present. It must be left, I presume, to the chair to decide, if necessary, in any case where those limits have been transgressed.

I have no intention, therefore, to make any comments on the religious views of Mr. Reade, for the expression of which he alone must be responsible. And, in like manner, I claim to be held singly responsible for any which I myself may express on this occasion. As much as possible I wish to avoid treading on debateable religious ground. But it is not possible wholly to do so when treating of a subject like the present. And, indeed, as was well observed at the former meeting, while this is no place for discussing difficult points of dogmatic theology, yet man, being a "religious being," and religious questions having very much to do with his physical, moral, and mental development, they cannot be ignored in the proceedings of a society which professes to deal with all that concerns the nature of man.

You are aware that the district of Natal—*terra Natalis*, as it was called by the old Portuguese navigators, because discovered by them on Christmas Day,—is situated on the south-east coast of Africa, between the degrees of south latitude 29-30, and therefore almost within the tropics. In extent it may be reckoned as about one-third of England and Wales; and the population at this time may probably be fairly stated as consisting of about 15,000 Europeans, of whom two-thirds are English and the others chiefly Dutch and German, and 150,000 natives, who, though of many different tribes, are called by the common name of Zulus, from having been once collected under the rule of the late Zulu despot Chaka. The name *Kafir* is an Arabic word, meaning "unbeliever." As such, I believe, it is even now applied by the Mohammedans of India to the English

and other Europeans. And as such also it was probably applied by the Mohammedan Arabs, who have settled on the eastern coast of Africa, to the heathen savages with whom they came in contact on that continent. All the tribes of south-central, as well as south-eastern, Africa, are now reckoned collectively as Kafirs, since they speak only different dialects of the same common tongue. For though the languages spoken by different tribes are sometimes so different that even natives living within the small district of Natal can hardly understand each other, yet philologists have shown conclusively that these languages are all fundamentally the same,—nay, that there are strong affinities between those spoken by the tribes on the *eastern* and those on the *western* coast of Africa. The subject has not, indeed, been thoroughly worked out as yet. But I believe that the tendency of modern inquiries is towards the conclusion that the whole central part of Africa, from the north-west to the south-east, is inhabited by kindred tribes, speaking only different varieties of the same common tongue, though often, as I have said, so different that only scientific skill can trace the connection. Thus Mr. Reade's negroes of the Gaboon may be after all only distant connections of the Zulus or Zulu-Kafirs of Natal. The word "Zulu" means "heaven." But the people have been so called from a former chief of that name, and not with any notion that this particular tribe had any claim to be regarded as the "Celestials" of south-east Africa.

It appears to me that Mr. Reade's paper expresses, perhaps in rather strong and even exaggerated language, thoughts which, however, are present more or less distinctly in the minds of many laymen in connection with the subject of missions, as, for instance, that missionaries are really doing little or nothing for the improvement of savage races,—that their reports are either dishonest, and "cooked," as the phrase is, to meet the eyes of their paymasters in England, or else are tame chronicles of trivial circumstances, which are not worth communicating,—and that, in fact, large sums of money are thus wasted, which might be more profitably used, if spent upon works of charity nearer home. Now, I am one who do entirely believe, nay, I know, that in spite of many serious drawbacks, some inevitable, some capable of being remedied, the "Efforts of Missionaries among Savages" have been a great blessing to them. And because I believe and know this, I am not afraid or unwilling to look the truth in the face,—to have our work scrutinised and our defects pointed out, as I have said, from a layman's point of view,—where necessary, to confess our faults and shortcomings, and to consider how those faults may best be amended, that so the blessing may be greater, and the work be done yet more effectually.

I will begin with saying that I am not careful to make much defence for the expenditure of considerable sums of money upon missions. On the one hand I cannot indeed sympathise with those who argue that to save one human soul is a sufficient return for spending any amount of money, and sacrificing any number of lives. I say I cannot sympathise with this argument, because it assumes that the soul in question is in danger of being *lost*,—that is, as such persons

mean, lost for ever,—that the Father of spirits has left it to be decided by the caprice, or zeal, or the greater or less measure of selfishness of one or more of us poor mortals, whether our brother's soul shall be eternally saved or lost for ever. Now this I, for one, do not believe; nor indeed can those who use the argument really and truly believe this. If they did, would they ever spend a penny on themselves which they could possibly avoid spending? Would they ever buy a newspaper, eat butter with their bread, drink sugar with their tea, or sit down to enjoy one of the commonest daily blessings which their money has purchased, instead of hurrying to give all their gains and savings, and scrapings to swell the amount of the mission fund? No! whatever men may say, they practically show that they do not in their heart of hearts believe this; they do not believe that the heathen will pass away into the pit of endless woe, because no friendly hand has ever been held out to them,—because no messenger of God's Love has ever reached them,—because the Great Being who made them has left them unvisited, uncared for,—and their fellow-creatures have been too busy, too self-indulgent, or it may be too poor in means, however rich in love, to remedy this neglect of their Creator!!

Yet such a horrible doctrine as this has certainly been taught, and laid down as the very basis of Christian missions. Let me quote a few words from a prayer which has been printed within the last ten years for the use of a missionary institution (I am ashamed to say) of the Church of England. "O Eternal God, Creator of all things, *mercifully remember* that the souls of unbelievers are the work of Thy hands, and that they are created in Thy resemblance. Behold, O Lord, *how hell is filled with them*, to the dishonour of Thy Holy Name. *Vouchsafe to be propitiated by the prayers of Thy Church*, Thy most holy spouse, and *call to mind* Thine own compassion."

Nay, I copy from the *Record* of May 3 of this very year, the following words from the speech of an eminent divine of the English Church (Dr. M'Neile), delivered on behalf of the Church Missionary Society:—

"St. Paul does not appear to have had the slightest idea of any man being saved . . . except through the *knowledge* of Jesus Christ."

One remembers, it is true, that St. Paul somewhere speaks of God as the "Saviour of all men," though "specially of them that believe." But, that there may be no mistake as to the speaker's meaning, he explains it further as follows:—

"It is a gross misrepresentation to say that we charge the lost and ruined condition of the heathen upon their ignorance of the Gospel, which they have had no opportunity of hearing. No! it is upon their transgression of their own moral standard, their own conscience which every man bears within him, a measure of the law written in his heart. For I say again, he is a servant—not a stone, a stock, or a horse—but a servant, and did things worthy of stripes. But then he is beaten with few stripes. All is equitable. We may trust in God for that. It is more tolerable for the one servant than the other; and 'more tolerable' is the master's expression—'more tolerable'—for Tyre and Sidon than Chorazin and Bethsaida.

If 'more tolerable' be everlasting happiness, then all who have not been taught may be everlastingly happy. But if 'more tolerable' wear a different and much more painful aspect, we are compelled by our allegiance to authoritative revelation either to admit the awfully solemn truth, or to throw off that allegiance, and deny the volume which contains that statement."

Now this statement is the more significant, inasmuch as it was made not only by one of the most prominent supporters of the Church Missionary Society, in Exeter Hall, on the occasion of its anniversary, in this year of grace 1865, in the presence of the President of the Society and a great number of its friends, as well as in that of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, and was allowed to pass unchallenged and uncorrected; but also because the speaker expressly insisted upon the dogma in question as the very watchword of that great Society—a Society which has been the instrument of conferring, as I believe, vast benefits upon the heathen world, notwithstanding—rather in spite of—its maintaining in theory, at all events, a principle like this, which, in my judgment, so far as it is actually maintained in fact and acted on by its missionaries, is utterly opposed to the teaching and practice of the great apostle of the Gentiles, St. Paul. I say that the Church Missionary Society is committed in theory to the maintenance of this principle, that "no man can be saved except through the *knowledge* of Jesus Christ,"—that, consequently, the heathen—every one of them, men, women, and children, who have never heard of Jesus Christ, and therefore cannot have "knowledge" of Him, must be damned irrevocably and eternally—must be consigned to the pit of endless woe, and doomed to suffer everlasting burnings, though somehow they will be "more tolerable" than the flames which will prey upon others,—yet still "*everlasting burnings*," never-ending, irremediable, and therefore infinite woe,—the Society, I say, is committed to this, because Dr. McNeile went on to say, *with the full concurrence of his hearers*, that the utterance of this dogma with "the most pointed distinctness" was indispensable for success in their labours. Listen to his words, as reported in the *Record*.

"Now it is of the utmost importance for the sake of our missionary cause that this question should be fairly tested and examined, and that *the alternative should be forced upon the public mind*; because I believe that *there is such a love of moderation in our English people*—that there is such a repugnance to extreme opinions and extreme measures,—that half-and-half statements are doing more injury than bold and direct scepticism itself. We have a school of compromisers more to be dreaded in the recesses of our missionary work than open sceptics. And why do I refer to these things, but because the most pointed distinctness in the initial sound is indispensable for power or plainness in the distant echo, and that, if we lose distinctness at home, we shall lose all power abroad. I say, then, that we have a school of compromisers who ought, I think, to be brought to the test, Do they believe the Bible or not?"

Now these words were accepted, it seems, by the meeting in question, as the true expression of the principles on which this great Society

seeks to evangelise the world. It was in vain that the Bishop of London had the courage to stand forward as a "moderate man," that he reminded the meeting of the apostle's lesson, "Let your moderation be known unto all men." No "cheers," at least according to the report of the *Record*, greeted these expressions of a calm and sober judgment; whereas the words of Dr. M'Neile, which I have just quoted, were received, we are told, with "loud applause," with "loud and continued applause." I must assume, therefore, incredible as it may seem, that the sentiments of Dr. M'Neile were really endorsed, as those of the Church Missionary Society itself, by this large and influential meeting, including, as I have said, his Grace the Primate of all England. Three years ago I was ridiculed by some of my critics for supposing that any great body of educated persons in England believed in these days in the literal accuracy, nay, the divine infallibility, of every historical or scientific statement of the Bible. You know how such ridicule has been answered by the astonishing fact, that 11,000 clergy of the Church of England have set their names to a declaration of their belief in that very doctrine, as well as in that of the endlessness of future torments, while the two archbishops have openly declared their adherence to those views. It seems now to be equally incredible that any great body of educated men should believe that for the success of missionary efforts "the most pointed distinctness is indispensable" in declaring that every heathen, who dies without "the *knowledge* of Jesus Christ," must be doomed to suffer endless torments,—should believe that this is, as Dr. M'Neile says, "a bold and faithful repetition of the glorious Gospel of the Grace of God." But here we have this very assertion made by a distinguished clergyman of the Church of England, in the presence of this great assembly, in the heart of the city of London, and in the middle of the nineteenth century, and the statement is received, like the others, with "loud applause"!

Out of the Church of England, however, I fear such views are equally, perhaps even still more, common. On my first visit to Natal an excellent American missionary, with whom I had spent the night, supplied me when I started in the morning with a paper of sandwiches to eat upon my way. At midday I sat down beside a stream to rest my horse and eat my luncheon; and, to while away the time, I skimmed the columns of the sheet of paper in which my food had been wrapped, and which turned out to be a *Missionary Intelligencer*. I copied from it two extracts, which I printed at the time in my book entitled *Ten Weeks in Natal*, and which will further illustrate very strikingly and painfully this part of the subject.

One passage was the report of a colporteur, who was describing to the society which employed him,—and which, therefore, since they printed his language, seem not to have objected to it—the manner in which he conducted his ministry, entering first one house and then another, and distributing according to the necessities of each. In one, for instance, he would find the people careless and negligent in divine things, and then he would talk to them about the *heathen*, and what would become of *them*, and ask what would become of them—

selves if they lived like heathen. "They would perish," he said, "*like those heathen* ; and their children, about whom they thought so much, would twine about them like creepers on a gnarled oak, and they would burn—burn—burn on for ever!"

But these were the words of a missionary speaking about heathens to Europeans. The following is taken from the correspondence of a missionary, and shows the sort of language which such a man would use—and which, I fear, many a missionary does use substantially, if not so plainly—in addressing the heathens themselves. "Every hour, yea, every moment, they are dying, most of them without any knowledge of the Saviour. On whom, now, rests the responsibility? If you fail to do all in your power to save them, will you stand at the judgment guiltless of their blood?" Said a heathen child, after having embraced the gospel, to the writer, "How long have they had the gospel in New England?" When told, she asked with great earnestness, "Why did they not come and tell us before?" And then added, "My mother died, and my father died, and my brother died, without the gospel." Here she was unable to repress her emotions. But at length, wiping away her tears, she asked, "Where do you think they have gone?" I, too, could not refrain from weeping, and turning to her I enquired, "Where do *you* think they have gone?" She hesitated a few moments, and then replied with much emotion, "I suppose they have gone down to the dark place—the dark place! Oh! why did they not tell us before?" It wrung my heart as she repeated the question, "Why did they not tell us before?"

Here we have, indeed, the "most pointed distinctness" in the utterance of this doctrine! We have all heard, I suppose, of the old Bulgarian chief, who, when told that his father and mother, and all the ancestors of his tribe, were burning in hell-fire, declared that he would rather go and burn with them, than live in such a gloomy heaven, with so inhuman and unjust a being as this God—a very Moloch—whom the missionary spoke of. I have heard substantially the same uttered from the mouth of a Zulu. And I do not hesitate to say that, on this particular point, the ideas of that Teuton and that Zulu were far more orthodox—or more truly Christian—than those of such a missionary, trained, though he may have been, in schools of Christian theology. It was Christian to feel there can be no happiness for me in heaven, if my friends and fellow men, for no fault of their own, are to be eternally shut out: it was Christian to think, "Better that we should all be consumed together, and the Great Spirit live alone in his glory, than believe such things of the good and blessed God, and ascribe to him such frightful partiality."

I repeat, the persons who maintain this doctrine cannot possibly believe in it, or they would be intensely wretched during every waking moment of their lives,—that is, if they were really full of tender human feeling and brotherly kindness. But the very use of such language appears to me to be an unconscious blasphemy against the name of the Most High,—of Him who is "loving unto every man" and whose "tender mercies are over all his works," who is styled in scripture the "Faithful Creator," of whom we read that His name is

Love. "He that planted the ear, shall He not hear? He that formed the eye, shall He not see?" He that has taught *us* to love—to love even the fallen and the outcast, or these poor ignorant degraded savages—shall *He* not love them, with a love that infinitely surpasses our own? I not only assert with the writer in *Essays and Reviews*, whom Dr. M'Neile condemns, that, "if the sacred writers have really enunciated such a doctrine as that which we are speaking of, if they have said what is so utterly opposed to the moral sense that is in man, they cannot have been inspired by God in respect of such statements." But I assert also that they would contradict by such statements other statements in the Bible, the whole general tenor of the language of that Book, and the teaching of Christ himself and his Apostles; and this contradiction would suffice to show that, in respect of these matters, there is no such "authoritative revelation" in the Bible as Dr. M'Neile supposes.

I reject, then, utterly the employment of *this* argument,—viz., that without our missions the heathen would be eternally lost,—as a reason for not taking any account of the weight of gold and silver which is thrown into the treasury of missions. But, on the other hand, it is not the outlay of a few thousands of guineas, or the expenditure of noble energies, or the sacrifice of noble lives, that is worthy of being made so much account of in this matter. There should, of course, be some proportion between the object aimed at and the means employed, as also between the amount of means expended in a given time and the results attained. But it must not be expected that in missionary work, any more than in political, naval, or military, no waste of means will be incurred,—that no pound will be spent unprofitably for want of experience, no money be lost by mismanagement, or be thrown away upon unsuccessful efforts or inefficient labourers. Allowances, in short, must be made, in this department of human labour as in any other, for errors, mistakes, infirmities, as well as for providential accidents. And then these losses must be compared with what are incurred in other great operations; for, on a different scale, the same principles apply to the one kind of expenditure as to the other. In the Crimean war, for instance, the loss of one single ship, which went down in the storm, involved a sacrifice of money, enough to have supported one hundred missionaries and their families for twenty-five years. And the sum spent in the last Kafir war was ten times as great, enough to have supported for the same period an army of ten thousand schoolmasters, so as to have changed, we might hope, the whole condition of those tribes, and prevented altogether the fears of such wars for the future.

But, it is said, *Ex nihilo nihil fit*. Multiply the work of one missionary as much as you please, and it will still amount to nothing or next to nothing. The results of missionary labour among savages are infinitesimally small; and an army of ten thousand teachers, though labouring for five-and-twenty years, would do little to raise a savage race from its barbarism. I do not, indeed, suppose that Mr. Reade would adopt this sentiment as the deliberate expression of his own opinion, though his words amount to it. Nor is it my intention to

disprove such a statement by marshalling at length a series of facts, to show the beneficial results of missions. This has been done already, I believe, to some extent by others. I rather take for granted that we all know that, in spite of all their drawbacks and defects, the work of devoted men, such as many of our missionaries, if only as the heralds of civilisation, cannot but be a blessing to those among whom they toil,—as also that we all remember that we ourselves owe very much our present high state among the nations, in the first instance, to the labours of missionaries. Nay, a body of such teachers, inculcating among savages notions of the Supreme Being,—some true, and drawn from the pure living stream, which flowed in the teaching of the Great Regenerator of mankind,—some false, concocted in later ages, expressed in creeds and church-systems, by councils of fallible men or by schools of theology, notions often, like that of which we have just spoken, at war with the moral instincts of those whom they are teaching, not because those instincts are too low and debased, but rather because they are too elevated and pure, too simple and unsophisticated,—such a body of teachers could never be utterly useless, an utter failure, in their attack on the darkness of heathenism,—first, because of the portion of pure truth which is mixed up with their teachings,—secondly, because of their trust in Him, who is the Supreme Educator of us all. Faith and love are never lost. If no atom out of the material universe can ever be destroyed, surely these, more *real* and more precious things, can never utterly perish. Without these, indeed, man would be but the most cunning animal. But even war, we know, with all its horrors, has been a blessing to humanity on account of the field which it has opened for *faith* and *love*, for the heroism of duty, for the exercise of manly courage, patience, endurance, perseverance, for acts of self-sacrifice. And the mission-field, in spite of all the defects, moral and intellectual, of those who have laboured in it, has been another such field, and surely with far fewer and smaller drawbacks. My object, therefore in the present lecture will not be to take the opposite side of the argument to Mr. Reade, so as to prove that such efforts have been beneficial. Rather I shall assume, as I have said, that his remarks do but express a certain feeling of disappointment, which prevails in the minds of many good men, when they contemplate the defects of missions. And I shall endeavour to point out wherein those defects should not be regarded as affording just grounds for censure or dissatisfaction, and in what respects, as I think, there do exist real evils in much of our mission-work, which may and ought to be remedied.

There is, in point of fact, much unfairness often practised unintentionally in judging of the results of missionary labour, besides that of judging hastily, from imperfect knowledge or too limited observation. *Too much is often expected, and in too short a time, of the missionaries.* And this is frequently the case quite as much with their friends, with those who do sympathise with their work, as with those who do not. When excellent people in England, who contribute for the support of missions, are not content without receiving by each mail some touching account of interesting incidents, some fresh report of the increase of converts and communicants, and are

disappointed to find that no very marked progress is made from month to month or even from year to year—that the foundations are being slowly laid, underground, out of sight, upon which to build in future years, when they—the donors—will be laid, it may be, in the grave, a missionary can scarcely help reporting as important facts, (and, perhaps, indeed they are such to him,) what after all appear in print as very trifling and insignificant matters, and afford not unfrequently to shrewd lookers-on the occasion for a laugh, at the credulity of friends of missions, and the delusive nature of missionary reports.

Yet societies in England must be fed, and reports therefore must be sent; and accounts of little details, which nobody would think of chronicling, as incidents worthy of notice, in any parish in England, must be forwarded regularly by the missionary to his paymasters, as tokens of progress, or at least as tokens of his own activity. And such, perhaps, as I have said, they really are. And before a sweeping judgment is passed, either on such reports or on the “Efforts of Missionaries,” it may be well to consider more closely some of a missionary’s primary difficulties,—at least when entering upon a comparatively new field of labour, like that in Natal or Zululand.

1. In the first place, he has little to hope for from the older people, thoroughly imbued with the habits of heathenism, with their morals debased, and their mental powers weakened, by long indulgence in the gratification of sensual appetites, which must naturally form the main sources of enjoyment, where the higher pleasures of the heart and of the intellect are to a great extent unknown. No doubt there do occur cases of heathens more advanced in life, where Christian teaching of the simplest kind has produced a benign effect,—has helped to calm the passions, to raise the hopes, to expand the affections, to kindle a living interest in the progress of their children and the welfare of their kind. I have known such cases myself: but they cannot be numerous; and they will usually be found, I imagine, among the milder spirits of the tribe, who have little influence upon the mass of the community.

Our “efforts,” therefore, must be directed chiefly towards the *young*. Yet very great are our difficulties even here. For we have not to do with children removed altogether from the influence of their savage connexions,—from the idle, disorderly habits of the tribe,—from the impure practices of the native kraal. Still less have we to do with children whose training had begun at home at the mother’s knee, and who afterwards, as in England, may spend the day in the village school, and return at night to find, in many cases, a parent’s tender kindness and care, supplying the defects, at all events supporting the efforts, of the teacher. But here the whole work must be begun from the beginning, and must be done wholly by ourselves, and all *against the grain*; the children being brought to us at first with many tears and fears, and, when beginning to settle down under our care, disturbed continually by the visits of their people,—of mothers, sisters, brothers, friends,—who know nothing themselves of the meaning of education, of its end and object, of the benefits which the children are to gain by it,—who see only that it appears to consist in a wear-

some round of unintelligible school-performances, not unaccompanied with stripes and pains, and certainly not productive of any great present or prospective enjoyment, in the shape of eating, drinking, and other appreciable delights. It is obvious that such visits as these must greatly impede our labours. Yet this difficulty must be faced. We cannot refuse to allow of such intercourse, or the parents will consider that the children are treated like slaves, and will probably remove them altogether.

I remember how on one occasion a number of native boys were brought by their parents, and delivered up to me for instruction, with a promise that they should be left in our hands for the space of five years. It had been a very difficult work to persuade the parents to confide their children to us. However, at last, one chief of some importance, and many of his head men, consented to bring their boys for education; and the chief was to send me notice of the day on which we might expect them. Week after week, however, passed, month after month, and still no message came: and always to my inquiries the answer was returned, "The children are being collected." The real reason of this delay, as we afterwards found, was the fact that the proposition had excited alarm throughout the other native tribes. It was suspected that some subtle plan was being organised to get possession of their children, and send them across the sea as hostages for the good behaviour of their parents. The efforts of the friendly chief were counteracted by the hostility of others; the mothers, especially, were furious, and the chief was obliged to defer the carrying out of his purpose, until their passions were somewhat allayed. At last the day arrived—a day for me of great delight and hope, but for them (as it seemed) a day of doom and despair. As I rode up to the Mission House, to which the boys were to be brought, I could see the train of natives, marching as usual in single file, winding along upon the distant hill; fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, the whole family connexions of the children appeared to be coming, escorting the miserable little wretches to school, with as much unwillingness almost as if they were going to take leave of them for ever. That night the fathers went to their kraals, leaving trustfully their boys in our hands. But the females would not leave us: the next day they still hung on: and I began to fear that we should never get rid of them, till at last the boys, finding things more pleasant than they expected, dismissed them of their own accord, and we were free to begin the work of education.

But what help could we have hoped to find, in case of any difficulty, by appealing, as in England we might have done, to the boy's feeling of regard for his parents or to the parents' own interference? I have known boys run away by twos or threes, or even ten or twelve together, and hide themselves in distant kraals, where they were gladly taken in by native friends, who did not favour the education-scheme, and where even their own friends could not find them, or at least prevented not to be able to find them.

11. But suppose that we have obtained our children, and quieted at last the apprehensions of their parents, and secured their confidence,

how now are we to teach them? It seems to be forgotten that we have no miraculous gift of tongues, and that those whom we are about to teach, in addition to the other faults, or, it may be, the vices of children, speak a totally different language from our own. Here then is another great element of difficulty, peculiar to the work of missionaries. We are liable, of course, to many drawbacks from the infirmities or the general inertness and inefficiency of teachers, just as much as managers of schools in England are, with this difference, that *we* cannot easily replace a defective teacher as school-managers in England may. Thus there are some who, with the best intentions, never can manage a set of boys, whom others will govern with a nod,—who never know how to be free and pleasant in the right time and way, or how to prevent a joke from degenerating into a liberty. I have known, for instance, a missionary, estimable in many respects, beseeching, and ultimately persuading, a little heathen boy to pick up his book, which the young rascal had thrown upon the floor.

Allowance, then, will have to be made for the ordinary infirmities of missionaries, for such failures as take place continually in the case of schools in England, though with much greater facilities for remedying the evil, and then we shall have to take account of this far greater difficulty, their want of acquaintance with the native tongue. “Teach them English,” I have heard it said, “and then they will be most useful to the colonists, and derive more benefit themselves.” Of course, they should be taught English; but you cannot “teach them English” in a day. In fact, you cannot teach them English thoroughly until their teacher has learnt thoroughly to speak in Zulu. You may teach them, of course, the use of English names for a pot or a kettle, very easily and readily. But such a knowledge of the English tongue as implies a power of expressing feelings and thought, a capacity for moral and religious culture—such a knowledge implies also on the part of their teacher a precedent knowledge of those forms of the Zulu tongue, idiomatic or otherwise, which correspond to these matters.

But what is the use of teaching them merely to *read* in English, when they do not understand a syllable of what they read? I do not say that it is impossible to do so; for I remember to have seen a school in Wales where the children were reading English very fairly, without in the least comprehending what they read. The absurdity of such a process is obvious; but then the Welsh children could also read Welsh, and knew what reading meant, and could amuse themselves and their parents by reading their Welsh books. To teach them to read English, even though they did not understand it, was not by any means so absurd as it would have been to teach our Zulu boys to read English before they either knew a word of the language, or had the least conception of what was the meaning of reading at all. We must begin, then, by teaching them to read in Zulu, thus leading them on by degrees to read in English. And then we are met by the difficulty that we have no books in Zulu—perhaps a primer, or an easy catechism, or a translation of some part of the Bible—but no books of instruction, such as every village-school in England possesses or may acquire from the nearest market town,—no graduated lessons,

story-books, geographies, histories, such as help to vary the monotonous routine of school-work. All these have to be prepared by the slow and painful labour of the missionaries themselves, and, when they have done their best to prepare them, will most probably be found ungrammatical and full of blunders. For how is the missionary to become all at once a perfect master of Zulu? While in England a superior teacher is able to bestow all his energies upon the school itself, upon its discipline and management, preparing special lessons for his older pupils, pouring into their ears from day to day fresh stores of knowledge suited to their age, mingled, as opportunity offers, with those words of truth by which the spirit even of a child is fed as by living bread, the missionary for many months,—and, if he be not gifted with linguistic faculties, even for years, if not for his whole life long,—will still be stammering out with painful effort, and a conscious sense of his weakness, feeble, broken, half-intelligible sentences. And need I say that the same weakness will necessarily affect his more public teaching, when he stands up to address an adult congregation?—that he will deal chiefly in commonplaces, reiterating the same insipid formulæ, distrusting his own powers of expression, fearing, as it were, to step out of his depth, and shunning, even if for no other reason, the discussion of questions in science, morals, and religion, such as often engage the native mind, as they do those of our own children,—with this difference, however, that the adult native, though simple as a child in some points, is yet able to think on others like a man, and cannot be set aside or quieted, as a child, perhaps, may be, with an evasive answer? How could such a teacher venture to discuss many of the questions which will inevitably be raised in a native congregation, if he allows them freedom of speech, and which, like the questions of a child, often go to the very root of the matter, as, for instance, questions with respect to the historical truth of the Scripture accounts of the Creation, the Fall, or the Deluge, or such a query as that which a grey-haired Zulu once put to myself, “Who was the father of Satan?”

Nay, even at the very best, how hard must it be for a missionary, an English missionary more especially, who labours to express himself in a foreign tongue,—much more the tongue of a savage people, for which, it may be, grammar and dictionary do not exist at all, or exist only in a most imperfect form,—so thoroughly to master it, as to be able to convey correctly his own thought, if he has a thought, to the mind of a native! If an English parish sermon often flies over the heads of the admiring or, more frequently, slumbering rustics,—if many an English pastor, who may be excellent in many respects,—in private intercourse, at the board of guardians, in the management of his schools, or at the bedside of the sick and dying,—finds himself incapable of addressing his people *extempore* in a few simple words in public, which they shall hear and understand and lay to heart as spiritual food—how must this difficulty be increased with the missionary, who may neither have the gift of ready thought, nor that of clear expression even in English, and who must try to utter his ideas in a strange tongue! How impotent and confused must be, at the best,

his teaching ! What blunders must he frequently make, unknown to himself, in seeking to express his meaning to young and old ! How little can he know what the real effect of many of his words may be on those who listen to them—how they must often be to them incomprehensible, and not unfrequently grotesque and absurd, when he thinks that his discourse has been most plain and impressive !

Let me illustrate this by two examples out of my own experience, such as, I have no doubt, could be paralleled by almost any missionary.

It was very common for the missionaries of Natal to use for the word “gospel” in Zulu the expression *ivangeli*, formed, of course, in imitation of the Greek, or perhaps the Latin *evangelium*. I once asked a Christian native—in fact, my “Zulu philosopher,” as he has been called—what he supposed the word to mean, and he replied at once, “a mixture or medley, from the word *vanga*, to mix;” so that, instead of the beautiful description, “glad tidings,” he understood by it only a kind of olla podrida of all sorts of stories heaped together.

A much more serious mistake is the following. There is a word, *ubomi*, which is used for “meat, rather high,” in fact, in an incipient state of putrefaction, which is regarded by the wild Zulus as rather a dainty. Hence, to be “eating *ubomi*” has come to be used among them as an expression for a state of great enjoyment, of supreme felicity. The early missionaries, searching for a phrase to express the blessedness of heaven, lighted upon this, and used it habitually—“eating *ubomi*,”—without any startling impropriety, to denote enjoying life, eternal life. But you will easily conceive what nonsense was made for the native ear when *ubomi* itself was taken to mean “*life*,” and so was employed in such a passage as “Strait is the gate and narrow is the way that leadeth unto—rotten meat !” Nay, what worse than nonsense was made when the same native word was used in that grand passage of St. John, “In Him was *Life*, and the *Life* was the Light of men !”

Of course, errors such as these must be made in all the early years of missions, and not only so, but in older missions also, in the teaching of younger missionaries. Many of them will be corrected by time and experience ; but our preachings and translations must long be very imperfect. It is only in a later age, and in another generation, when we have sons and grandsons of our earlier converts, trained to think deeply as earnest men upon the great truths which they have been taught, that we can hope to find *them* correcting our mistakes, and completing the work which we can only begin. But the “day of small things” is needed after all for this ; and our feeble “efforts” now may be attended, as we trust, with much more valuable results hereafter.

III. I pass on to point out another serious difficulty which we encounter in missionary labours. Let us suppose our boys, trained in our schools, to be now grown up to youths or young men. Here, too, it seems to be expected by many of the sanguine friends, and equally by the zealous opponents, of missions, that we are to find the ordinary rules of human experience reversed, and these young men settling down at once, each with a nice quiet wife, into exemplary

fathers of Christian families. Unfortunately for any such expectations, human nature is found to be much the same in Africa as in England; and we have to contend with the passions of youth there as elsewhere, but under far greater disadvantages. Here in England, at all events, the youth, on leaving school, is cheered by the kindly voices of home, and by the hope and prospect of honours and rewards, while he pursues his further career at the university, or in a lower rank of life, in some course of apprenticeship; and he finds in due time, it may be, a spirit congenial to his own, with whom to share the lot of married life. Our native youths leave school at a critical time, and return, as they will and must, to the native kraal. It would be folly to attempt to keep them at such an age: their passions, pent up, would only break out in some more gross and abnormal form. The parents will expect them to return: the boys will reckon upon it as their right, and will probably, if refused, take the law into their own hands, and enforce their claim by running away. Nor can we dispense with or ignore the natural affection between parents and children, if we wish to elevate, to educate, the latter in a truly human manner. If we *could* eradicate it—which, indeed, some missionaries seem almost to wish they could—we could not get on without it. No new ties to their teachers can or ought to take the place of their love to fathers and mothers, sisters and brothers. How can they learn the Christian faith—trust in, and obedience to, a Heavenly Father—if they have begun by learning to despise their earthly parents? I once had a boy brought to me by a teacher—a hopeful youth, steady at his work as a hired farm-labourer, but anxious to learn to read and write, and coming regularly to the evening-school at the end of his daily labours. But his father, a heathen savage, disapproved of it, and forbade the boy attending. I summoned his father, and had a long talk with him, saying all I could to persuade him to consent to his son's desire. But I found him unmoveable. If I had believed that the boy's soul was in danger of being lost eternally for want of that "knowledge" of which he was thus deprived, I should, perhaps, have taught him to disobey his father, and begin his course of Christian instruction by renouncing his family ties. Having no such fears, however, I could only advise the boy to obey his father, and to give up for the present the cherished wish of his heart, and trust to God's overruling providence, that some time or other, in some way or other, his dutiful act would not lose its reward. Happily, the sense of filial duty, expanded into deference to the chief, as the father of the tribe, is strong in the Zulu breast, and ought to be respected by those who come with the object of raising him in the scale of humanity.

We must, therefore, face this difficulty also, of our educated youths returning home from school, as one of the primary inevitable drawbacks upon our missionary efforts. For I need not say that, returning thus to their kraals, removed from the influence of their teachers, and coming again under that of their native friends, they are very likely to return also—for a time, at all events—to the native mode of life, to lay aside their books, to forget their lessons, to throw off their clothing, and fall back into the idle habits and the vicious practices of heathenism.

And, if they marry, whom will they marry? Not educated native girls, for probably not one such is within their reach. The parents are most unwilling to give up their girls into our hands for teaching. A few stray girls may by some accident be brought to us—the children, it may be, of paupers or refugees. But none of the better class—the true children of the tribe—have up to the present time been confided to us, or, I believe, to any of the missionaries in Natal. It will take another generation, probably, before we can hope to persuade them to this; when they see that their sons cannot be properly mated, or when those sons desire that their own children shall not suffer from the evil from which they themselves have suffered. For the present, great allowance ought to be made for this difficulty, in judging of the results of the “Efforts of Missionaries”. A hopeful young man, if he has escaped, or, more probably, desires to abandon at last, the pollutions of the kraal, and to settle down as a married man, can only in most cases be coupled with a heathen woman, unclothed, untrained, uncivilised, who will certainly to some extent drag down her husband to her own lower level.

Nor will this matter, I imagine, be mended much, as some seem to expect, by removing the children from any possibility of contact with their native friends and training them in a distant sphere, or even, it may be, in England. It sounds at first very plausible. “We will take them away altogether from their homes, and their debasing vices and superstitions; we will carry them across the sea, and show them new sights, new lands, new faces. We shall not be able to speak to them, it is true, in their own tongue. But we shall have other children to mix with them, who speak the same or a kindred language; and we shall teach them English—perhaps send them on to England to complete their training, and then send them back as missionaries to their brethren.”

For my own part, however, I very much doubt whether any great permanent results can be reasonably expected from such an experiment. It seems to me very much like rearing a hot-house plant, and then expecting it to live, when planted out and exposed to the cold and storms of winter. Much good might certainly result from the establishment of a central college, planted in the midst of a native population, in the very sight of the natives themselves, and with free access, at stated times and under proper regulations, to the friends of the pupils; more especially if such an institution were founded by the State itself, in the name of the Queen—I mean, of course, in such a colony as Natal, where the “savage” tribes are under British rule—and carried on under Government control and inspection, with due rewards for merit and progress, and with a view to the general elevation of the whole people, irrespective of the special labours of missionaries. But I very much doubt the expediency of training a few youths, in entire isolation from the great body of their people, to a pitch of education far above the possibility of the reach of their fellows. The cases of Bishop Crowther, and of the Kafir clergyman at the Cape who has married a Scotch wife, are quite exceptional. As a general rule, it seems to me vain to expect that boys sent to

England for education, when they return to their native land, will be found of equal use, in advancing the welfare of their people, with others who have been trained, at far less expense, in the midst of their brethren. The probability is, that at first they will find themselves painfully separated from those of their own kind; and at last, finding no wives fitted to share their higher fortunes with them—unable to associate freely with whites or with blacks—they will be only too likely to throw up their civilisation, unnaturally forced, and at best imperfectly developed, and sink down into idle and squalid heathens, as before.

It will be seen that I do not lay much stress upon rapid and great effects being produced by missionaries in their labours among savages. I should rather distrust such effects, as being unnatural, contrary to experience, and therefore most probably fallacious. What we should wish to see is, not a special forcing in a few particular instances, but a general improvement in the whole mass of a native community, by the increase of habits of industry among them, and a steady, though, it may be, slow and gradual process of intellectual, moral, and religious development.

iv. But I must yet mention one other very serious drawback on missionary labour, I mean the bad example of some of our own countrymen; though I need hardly dwell on this point, for it is one which notoriously interferes with all efforts for improvement in all countries. I need hardly say that in Natal we have many most estimable colonists, men equal in Christian worth and benevolence to any whom they have left behind in England. But in every community there must be others also of a different class; and their evil influence and corrupt example, when brought to bear on a race of savage heathens, must greatly impede the success of missionary labours among them. The chief, who brought to me his boys to be taught, once told me that he had been openly ridiculed by a whiteman in the streets of Maritzburg for so doing; and one of my native lads informed me that European workmen, employed about the station, had told him that the missionaries themselves did not believe a word of what they taught. We cannot prevent such statements reaching our converts' ears; they will hear them elsewhere, if they do not hear them on the station itself. And I need not say that I am very sensible, even painfully so, how much, in the eyes of many good men, I myself have added to this very source of difficulty, by the course which I have felt it to be my duty to take, in respect of certain long and deeply-cherished traditional views. The more reason that we should search thoroughly into the grounds of what we teach, and teach nothing but what we entirely believe to be true,—nothing that we fear or half-suspect will not bear a close inquiry,—nothing, at all events, that we *know*, or may know if we will, to be contrary to the plain results of Science. Then we must leave the rest with God, whose work after all is that which we are striving, each according to our light, to do. And sure we may be that honest, earnest, self-sacrificing effort, even should it take a mistaken direction, will never be wholly spent in vain.

It is not a little mortifying, however, when we have perhaps been speaking with a natural pride about our dear motherland, and fondly expatiating to a body of natives listening around upon the power and greatness of England, upon the love and zeal of English Christians, who have sent us out to minister the word of life to their brethren, to have some shrewd face turned up with the remark, that such a white-man had sold a wagon for £60 to a native chief, which turned out to be a rotten one, or that another had lied, and another been seen drunk; and to find the whole party, one after another, quoting their separate grievances, real or supposed, received at the hands of English Christians. Sometimes, of course, these complaints are greatly exaggerated; sometimes the natives are themselves to blame. But it would be very unfair in judging of the "Efforts of Missionaries among Savages" not to take account of this fact also, that the imperfections and faults, often the vices, of our own fellow-countrymen are very serious impediments to the success of mission work.

Nor is it just to ascribe to missionary teaching what after all is very commonly only, or chiefly, the consequence of coming into contact with civilisation. It is very common, for instance, to speak of "Mission Kafirs" as greatly inferior to the untutored savage. But who are these "Mission Kafirs?" Very frequently men whom the missionary himself would altogether disown as members of his true flock, mere hangers-on upon the mission-station, who have resorted to it for reasons of their own, for the sake of protection, convenience, or gain; and whom the missionary has not thought it necessary to expel, or whom, perhaps, he actually has expelled. With many, in fact, a black man in a coat and trousers passes at once for a "Missionary Kafir." Yet, of course, in a colony like ours, there are many natives quite unconnected with missions, who have long adopted to some extent a European costume, and indeed are required by law to do so whenever they enter one of the chief towns, *i.e.*, to wear some piece of clothing down to the knee,—an order with which a simple native from the kraal supposed that he had complied by appearing one day at our station, as I was informed, dressed in his native tails, surmounted by a crinoline, or what I believe ladies understand by the name of a skeleton-skirt. It was at any rate a cool and airy style of dress, and far more comfortable, no doubt, to the natives than a tight-fitting pair of trousers, and, it may be added, far more healthy. For we little consider, when we lay down peremptorily such laws of clothing, how seriously they must affect the health and shorten the lives of a savage community. We know how much they suffer from other baneful results of coming into contact with civilisation—what diseases they contract from dissolute whitemen—how they perish from being taught the use of strong drink. But perhaps we have less considered how the very clothing, with which we teach them to cover their nakedness, becomes too frequently not only the haunt of vermin, and the cause of skin-diseases, but the source of pulmonary disorders, sickness, and death; since the *one* pair of trousers or the single jersey is not only never washed, as it is never mended, but when damp with showers is obliged to be worn unchanged, and the wet garment is habitually dried

upon the person, instead of the naked limbs being dried by the hut fire. I have often thought that God has given to the savage his coloured skin as a clothing, which he had better not change too soon for European habiliments.

However, there are many who approximate in appearance to civilised men, and, having been formerly employed in service or by traders, have now settled near a mission station, and may be found attending school and chapel, but whom the missionary himself would point out as the black sheep of his flock, and for whose misconduct it would be as unfair to make his teaching responsible, as to charge the rector of an English parish with all the faults and vices of all his parishioners.

Let all these things be taken into account before you attempt to form a judgment as to the real results of the "Efforts of Missionaries among Savages." And then let it be remembered that it has taken centuries of civilising influences to bring us up in England to our present condition, and that condition itself, with all our enormous advantages from the experience of the past and the example of other civilised nations, being in some respects very disappointing and discouraging. "What is the use," says Mr. Reade, "of a Christian mission, if a man goes to church in the morning, and burns a witch alive in the afternoon?" But two centuries ago some of the best men in England did this, men eminent for learning and piety; and I am not quite sure that there are not some among us, who would even burn a heretic now if they could.

Nay, were a visitor from another planet to drop suddenly among us, and to take up his abode for a few months with one of the London clergy, and then put on paper his thoughts as to the effect of Christian teaching on a civilised community, from the outward evidences which met him as he walked by day or night in the innumerable lanes and alleys, where live the masses of this great community, he would probably find enough of drunkenness and prostitution—enough of all forms of vice and wretchedness—enough of selfish extravagance on the one hand, and of degraded ignorance and misery on the other,—to make it just as reasonable for him to express strong doubts as to the effect, not merely of the Christian ministry, but of all educational efforts, of all measures of social improvement, upon the inhabitants of this metropolis. And as to the country districts of England, we read as follows in the report on the Staffordshire Factories, which was quoted in a leader of the *Times* of April 24th.

"In most cases the modesty of female life gradually becomes a byword instead of a reality, and they sing unblushingly before all while at work the most disgusting songs [even as Zulu boys or girls may sing at their play]. Of the thousands which I have met with or known as working, I should say that one in every four, who had arrived at the age of twenty, had had an illegitimate child. Several have had three or four."

In short, as the *Times* justly observes :—

"The well springs of domestic virtue must be poisoned,—the labours of clergymen, schoolmasters, and scripture-readers are thwarted and defeated,—the power of benevolence and religion itself is neutralised,

—where decency is habitually outraged;”—[as it is in the overcrowded dwellings of England quite as much as in the Zulu hut].

Yet, with all these deficiencies, we none of us doubt that educational influences have done very much to improve the state of things in England, though falling far short, it may be, as yet of our desires. And in like manner there are abundant signs of the beneficial effect of missions upon savages, though I readily allow, and this brings me to the second portion of my address this evening, that, besides the unavoidable drawbacks to which I have been hitherto referring, there is great room for improvement in respect of our missionary labours.

Mr. Reade has spoken more than once of “idle, ignorant, knavish” missionaries. And, of course, such characters may and do exist in the wide extent of the mission field, as well as in other walks of life. An idle or dishonest missionary, however, is amenable to his ecclesiastical superior or to the society which employs him. And I need not dwell further on this particular point, which belongs rather to the former category of defects incidental to our work from the mere imperfection of the human agency employed in it, unless, indeed, it could be shown that missionaries are habitually “idle and knavish,” so that the fault belongs to the system—a charge which no candid person, I imagine, will think it right to make against them.

I. But on the subject of “ignorance,” I fear, and want of due fitness and preparation for the work, a great deal might be said. The work of a missionary, when regarded in a true light as that of endeavouring not to save a few individual souls from everlasting burnings, but to raise a whole race to the true dignity of man, as a child of God, a being endowed with intellectual, moral, and spiritual faculties, is one of the highest, most interesting, most ennobling, that can engage our powers. Yet this great work is left for the most part in the hands of men comparatively ignorant and illiterate, with narrow views and limited education,—earnest in spirit it may be, simple and pure in life, unwearied in industry,—yet greatly deficient in some of the primary qualities, which go to make up the true ideal of a missionary. Of course I am referring chiefly to Church of England missions, though Mr. Reade, I observe, speaks of the incompetence of “the Wesleyans of the Gambia,” as well as “with rare exceptions of the Church of England missionaries on the western coast of Africa.” And I do say that the Church of England, instead of sending her best men to this grand but difficult work, has been too commonly content to take her missionaries from a lower class of catechists, men who might have been usefully employed under clergy of higher mind and more liberal education, but who are quite unfit to be placed in sole charge of the responsible duties of a mission station. In the mission work among the natives of Natal I have had the aid of some able and excellent fellow-labourers, who, though not university men, have yet from various sources, (from professional or other training), derived the requisite amount of culture and mental discipline. Bishop Gray has complained that I have not multiplied the number of mission stations in Natal. Partly my want of means has prevented me from doing this, but principally my want of men, of men with large hearts, culti-

vated minds, and generous views, fit to be entrusted with such work. Of course, if the object aimed at is chiefly to multiply the professors of Church doctrine,—if men are wanted merely to cram the native mind with creeds and catechisms, and raise a number of human parrots, repeating dogmatic phrases and formularies,—it might not be so difficult to find suitable instruments; more especially as the income and position of a missionary are far superior to what such teachers would probably be likely ever to attain at home. At all events, it would not be difficult to find men willing to undertake such work in Natal, where the inducements are not balanced by an oppressive and sickly climate, or by extreme cold and severe privations, or by dangers to be apprehended from the savages themselves.

I need hardly say that for such inferior missionaries the work of mastering the native tongue, difficult as it is for all who have not peculiar natural gifts, is rendered still more difficult, when they have never learned another language than their own native English, and have not even learned that correctly, but are now set down, perhaps for the first time in their lives, to the study of grammar. Nor need I say how futile must be the expectation which some indulge, that missionaries generally shall be able to combine with efficient labours among the heathen the charge also of European congregations! The thing is simply impossible. The European congregations, of course, may be served; it may be right that they should be; that is quite another question; but then the native work must, in most cases, go to the wall. When the missionary has to gallop off to his English services on Sunday, leaving his native flock untended on the very day when they would naturally come most about him to talk with him, to question him, to listen to him, (as I have often known them do for hours together), it is obvious that even the work of an experienced teacher must greatly suffer from the interruption. But it is easy to conjecture what the result must be in the case of one, who has not yet acquired a ready command of the native tongue, when the excuse is thus given for neglecting those studies and that practice, in which the very strength of his labours consists.

II. Again, it is a great defect in our present system of missions, that the missionaries generally are not *practical* men; that they have no knowledge of any practical science, such as that of medicine, or of any mechanical art, or even of agriculture. They are mostly mere theologians, interpreters of Scripture, or teachers of catechisms or creeds. This is a very serious drawback upon such missions as ours, and is not easily remedied, because so few of the English clergy are practised in any of those arts and sciences, which, however desirable, are not absolutely needed for their ministry in England. Yet the advantage resulting from the possession by a missionary of medical science, or practical skill of any kind, is incalculable,—still more when the two are united in one person, as is strikingly the case in the instance of one of our missionaries (the Rev. Dr. Callaway), whose work has in consequence been eminently successful, and would by *itself* be a sufficient answer to any doubts that might be entertained as to the benefits arising, or likely to arise from the “Efforts of Missionaries

among Savages." It might be supposed that it is enough that some *subordinate* should have such qualifications, and the missionary merely superintend his work, and devote himself to the higher duties of his spiritual office. But this is a mistake. In such a case as that of the Zambesi mission, where the whole party was plunged into the centre of South Africa, far away from the bounds of civilisation—I say nothing as to the prudence of such a step—and therefore *must* hold together while life or health lasts, this arrangement might suffice. But in a colony like that of Natal, where skilled labour commands very high prices, and temptations of the strongest kind must be held out continually to any intelligent layman, who is not committed irrevocably to mission work, to employ his powers more profitably for himself and his family, than the moderate remuneration of the mission fund will allow, it is vain to hope to retain very long the services of a really efficient mechanic. If his zeal does not flag amidst the monotonous routine and the many discouragements of the mission work, yet it cannot be expected that he will continue to work on in a dependent position when he has opportunities on every side of doubling or trebling his income, of buying land for himself, building a house, and settling with his family in complete independence. I know this difficulty by painful experience; and I have learned by yet more painful and costly experience that inferior mechanical agents are worse than useless, and had better be dispensed with altogether.

Yet without industrial occupation for the natives of some kind or other, it is impossible that any mission station can be carried on to any good purpose. It remains, therefore, for the missionary to do the best he can with such knowledge or power as he may possess for practical work. And here again it is found that inferior men are far more likely to make difficulties, as to engaging themselves in manual work for the instruction of their native converts, than others of a higher class,—such, for instance, as the late noble Bishop Mackenzie and his fellow-labourers, who would have thought it no derogation to their position as gentlemen, or to their office as clergymen, to handle, if need be, the tailor's scissors, the shoemaker's last, the carpenter's square, the mason's trowel, the compositor's stick, or the farmer's plough. I see, for instance, that Bishop Gray, in his recently published journal of his *Visit to Natal*, has inserted in it the following passage, p. 8:—

"Walked up before breakfast to the camp, which is a kind of native suburb, where a coloured mission congregation is located. At present it is in the hands of the Dutch Church, who employ a German, formerly employed by Bishop Colenso at Ekukanyeni. All agree that this man is doing a good work amongst the natives. As I drew nigh to his mud cottage, he was summoning his first congregation to worship in his mud chapel, by some sacred music played upon a trumpet. Had some little talk with him. He told me that he had been upon the list of the S. P. G.; that the Bishop had promised to ordain him after six months' trial if he gave satisfaction; that on one occasion, when preaching on the subject of eternal punishment, the Bishop stopped him; that shortly afterwards he told him that apostles

had supported themselves while preaching, and asked him if he would make bricks; that he undertook to do this, but afterwards complained that he had no *spiritual work* given him to do; and he and the Bishop parted. I tell this story as he told it to me. *There may be two sides to it (!)* But it is only fair to this good man to say that all speak well of him and of his work."

Now, I certainly do not think it necessary to defend myself from all or any of the charges or insinuations, which Bishop Gray has thought it right to put in print against me upon mere hearsay,—after a "little talk," as he says, with one of the parties concerned,—if even this were the place or occasion for it. But, as he says, there "may be two sides" to the story; and as it illustrates the present subject, I will give some explanation of the case in question. This German had been originally a trumpeter, I believe, in the Prussian army, but had lately been employed by a missionary body of his own (the Lutheran) Church among the tribes of south-eastern Africa. He came to me saying that his own body had declined his further services, because of his holding what some would call "heretical," but what in England are usually called "evangelical," views on the subject of the sacraments,—a fact which Bishop Gray does not mention. As I found him to be a good, earnest man, with a fair knowledge of Zulu, I was glad to take him on trial for six months; and he no doubt would have been glad to secure the position and the income of an English clergyman. But I found him unsuited and incompetent for the work for which I wanted him. He could not manage a class of school-boys; for it was he who "besought" the little Zulu scamp to pick up his book. So I tried him with adults; and believing that he would be likely to do as much good by teaching them to work diligently on a week-day, as by preaching to them on the Sunday about Adam's sin and eternal perdition, I certainly did set before him the example of St. Paul, who wrought with his own hands as a tentmaker, as well as that of one of our missionaries, who had taught one of the native boys to print; and I thought that he might have been of use in superintending a set of natives, who were employed in making bricks for the erection of part of the mission premises. But he had no "spiritual work," it seems, given him to do!—as if his hours, spent from morning to night among such labourers, might not have been made abundantly conducive to "spiritual work;" as if many an opportunity would not have been given for ministering to them the word of life, "in season and out of season,"—for checking their evil passions, encouraging their industry, strengthening their better principles, and lifting up their thoughts from earth to heaven! "And so we parted!"

III. Bishop Gray, you will see, refers to my having once "stopped" this missionary when he was preaching on the subject of "eternal punishment." I remember well the occasion, when he startled and horrified my people—who certainly had never heard such a doctrine from me—by telling them that by reason of Adam's sin the whole race of man had incurred the doom of eternal perdition, and even the newborn babe deserved to be consigned to the everlasting burnings.

The people themselves immediately questioned the truth of this doctrine: and I, of course, told them that they were *not* to believe this. As we have seen, the inculcation of such doctrines is by no means confined to men of defective training and a limited education. But there is this difference, that, although many clergymen in England may profess to hold these views, and may from time to time make even a passing allusion to them in their sermons, yet they very seldom, indeed, express them in plain words, or dwell upon them, in all their details, in the ears of an educated congregation. Their hearers would in most cases be revolted by such teaching: nay, their own sense of equity would be revolted. And, accordingly, Dr. McNeile laments that “love of moderation in our English people,”—that “repugnance to extreme opinions and extreme measures,”—by which many even of the (so-called) evangelical clergy are led to make “compromises” on this question,—to avoid speaking with “the most pointed distinctness,”—to make only “half-and-half statements,” which “are doing more injury than bold and direct scepticism itself.” It is otherwise, however, on a mission station, where teachers of narrow views, as we have seen, may and do dilate, as they please, upon such points. It is a very painful fact that men should have gone out—in the name of our National Church, which (as we now know from the highest authority) does *not* maintain the doctrine of the endlessness of future torments—still less maintains Dr. McNeile’s dogma of the endless punishment of all the heathen—to teach these things to the ignorant savages—that the attempt should still be made in this way to frighten them into believing, or retaining belief, in the creeds of Christendom, instead of seeking to draw them nearer—“to win,” as the Bishop of London said, “by cords of love those who may be wandering away from the truth”—to the bosom of their Father and their God. There are not a few well-meaning missionaries, who will complain, no doubt, that my own publications on the Pentateuch have reached even the ears of their converts, and unsettled their minds, and made their work more difficult. I, on the other hand, complain that there are many, who with the best intentions have yet poisoned the native mind with their teachings of the kind just described—have made it difficult for the real “glad tidings,” the message of their Father’s Love, to reach them—have, in fact, unconsciously blasphemed (as I have said) the holy name of God, by these representations, so that the heathen can receive only a distorted view of His character, and are repelled from coming to the knowledge of the truth. Forgetting, or ignoring, or more frequently never having realised at all, the fact, that there is one Almighty Father of all mankind, who is the “Faithful Creator,” the “Saviour of all men,”—who is present by His Spirit in the hearts of these Zulus as surely as He is present in our own,—from whom they have received that measure of light which they even now possess, and for which alone He holds them responsible,—Missionaries of narrow views seek not unfrequently to make that very light itself to be darkness, and try to teach their converts to renounce altogether the religious notions in which they have been reared, instead of meeting them, as it were, by the way, upon the common ground of our humanity, which a Divine

Life has quickened, and showing how far what they have hitherto believed is really true, how far in their ignorance they have mingled falsehood with truth. They come to them, in short, as if they were beings from another world, commissioned by Divine authority to override or overrule all their questionings, and doubts, and prejudices, as being utterly groundless and worthless; telling them that in their heathen state there is nothing good in them, that they are utterly fallen and corrupt, all their thoughts evil, and all their practices abomination in God's sight; instead of being ready, like St. Paul, to take for a text a heathen poet's noble utterance, "For we are Jove's offspring," or an altar raised to the unknown God as the ground of a Christian discourse, "Him, whom ye ignorantly worship, I declare unto you."

For among the Zulus, as among other nations, God has not left Himself without witness, in those thoughts which are stirred mysteriously within the depths of their inner being, as well as in the blessings poured upon them from without, "the rain from heaven and fruitful seasons, filling their hearts with food and gladness." I know that there are those who say that degraded tribes of human beings exist, which have no spark of religious life whatever. It may be so: I cannot contradict the assertions of those, who declare from their own personal knowledge that so it is—of missionaries or of travellers, who profess to have closely investigated the question, and who have expressed deliberately this conviction. If it be so, however, I should say that such tribes as these would scarcely deserve to be ranked with human beings. They could only be regarded as specimens of man as yet undeveloped; where the bodily organism of the human frame was imperfect, as it is with idiots, or was not yet advanced to that stage which allows of the exercise of the spirit's higher powers, as is the case, we may suppose, with infants, or, at least, with embryos. But I confess that I very much doubt the accuracy of the statement. I doubt if the travellers or the missionaries, who have made such assertions, have ever mastered so thoroughly the native tongue, or mixed so long and intimately with the native mind, as to be competent to pronounce such a judgment. I doubt if they have been able—or willing if able—to sit down, hour by hour, in closest friendly intercourse with natives of all classes, and in the spirit of earnest, patient, research, with a full command of the native language, have sought to enter, as it were, within the heart, and search for the secret characters of light, which may be written by God's own finger there.

Dr. Livingstone says of the natives of South Central Africa: "On questioning intelligent men among the Bakwena, as to their former knowledge of good and evil, of God, and the future state, they have scouted the idea of any of them ever having been without a tolerably clear conception on these subjects. Respecting their sense of right and wrong, they profess that nothing we indicate as sin ever appeared to them as otherwise, *except the statement that it was wrong to have more wives than one*; and they declare that they spoke in the same way as they do now of the direct influence exercised by God, in giving rain in answer to the prayers of the rain-makers, and in granting deliver-

ance in times of danger, before they ever heard of white-men. The want, however, of any form of public worship, or of idols, or of formal prayers or sacrifices, makes both Kafirs and Bechuanas *appear* as among the most godless races of mortals known anywhere."

So, too, among the Zulus, there is, first, a knowledge of a Creator, whom they call *Unkulunkulu*, "the Great-Great One". And I may mention, as a fact which has not yet, I believe, been made known to men of science, that all along the eastern coast of Africa, as my friend Dr. W. H. Bleek informs me, "This same word is used with the same meaning, though in abbreviated forms, *e. g.* *Mulungulu* in Inhambane, *Mulungu* in the Ki-kamba and Ki-nika languages, *Mlungu* at Cape Delgado, *Mulugo* or *Muluko* in the Makua language, *Murungu* at Sofala, *Murungo* or *Morungo* at Sena and Tette, *Mungu* in the Suaheli, and *Mungo* in the Pokomo. It would, of course, be a bold thing to identify this last form *Mungo* with the Zulu *Unkulunkulu*, if we could not follow up the gradual abbreviation through so many different stages. But, as it is, there is no doubt that from Natal to the borders of the Gallas country, this very same word has by the most different authorities (English, Portuguese, Germans, French, etc.) been noted as the nearest representative of our word "God." And even in Otyi-herero (spoken on the west coast, to the north of Great Namaqua land), a cognate word is used, viz., *Om-kuru*; and among the Timnehs of Sierra Leone (whose language has by the late Bishop Vidal been recognised as related to the Kafir) the name of God is Kuruh; though the identity of this last word with the South African names cannot yet be considered as an established fact."

Again, the Zulus distinctly recognise the existence of the double-heart, or, in the language of St. Paul, the constant strife of the flesh and spirit. They speak of the *ugovana*, which urges them to hate, kill, steal, commit adultery, and the *unembeza*, which bids them leave all this.

Further, they believe evidently in another life, since they make their prayers to their dead ancestors, the spirits of their tribe.

Thus we have seeds of religious truth, already planted by the Divine Hand in the minds of these natives; and our business is surely to cherish and prune the plants that have grown from those seeds,—if need be, to cut them down almost to the ground,—but not coarsely and violently to root them up altogether.

IV. Great evil, also, is caused, as I conceive, by those who insist, in their teaching of the heathen, upon the absolute infallibility of the Scriptures—a doctrine which happily is not held or taught by our National Church. Yet there are missionaries, and even missionary Bishops, who, while holding their offices by letters-patent from the Queen, as Bishops of the Church of England, will still violate their duty to the Church of which they are ministers, by misrepresenting her teaching on this point, and by laying down this doctrine to the ignorant heathen,—not as their own private view, which they were at liberty to do within the bounds of her communion, but—as the positive teaching of that Church itself, which, as we now know distinctly, it is not. I need not say that, with the daily increase of scientific know-

ledge among all classes, and with the facts that the first principles, at all events, of Geology and Astronomy, are taught in many of our schools, the maintenance of this dogma at home will soon become impossible for any persons of ordinary education. I have said in "*many of our schools*," because I suppose that no clergyman, who holds at present the traditionary view, will think it right to allow a school-teacher to discharge his duty faithfully, and explain the elementary truths of geological science to the children under his charge, when he knows that they will flatly contradict the accounts of the Creation and the Deluge, which he himself will read to them in church on Sunday, as the Word of God infallibly true. Are we, then, to perpetuate the same wrong in our schools set up among the heathen, the wrong I mean—rather the *sin*—of either deliberately keeping back from them such knowledge of His works as the Great God has already granted to *us*, that we may be stewards of His own good gifts for others, or else of distorting the plain results of Science, in order to prevent the discovery of their clashing with the statements of the Bible or the Prayer-Book? It would be a miserable, short-sighted, policy to do so; for the natives would soon learn from others what we did not choose to teach them ourselves. At all events, I have done my best to secure that the simple facts revealed by Modern Science,—some of which, as Dr. Temple has justly said on a recent occasion, are utterly irreconcilable with Scripture statements, if these are taken as announcing literal historical truth,—shall not be kept back from the heathen with whom my own lot has been cast in the district of Natal.

v. Once more, I believe that the course which the great body of missionaries have taken on the question of polygamy is a very serious impediment to the progress of our work. Here again, without any authority from the Church of which they are ministers, there are many of the missionary clergy, and even Bishops, of the Church of England, who have laid down the law, that every convert admitted into the Christian Church shall put away all his wives but one, if he had more than one, before baptism. It would be reasonable if they said, "You need not be baptised at all; you may be good men without being formally received into the Church, as there have been good men of old who were never baptised, and who had more wives than one, yet lived faithful lives. It is written in the Bible of the polygamist Abraham, from the mouth of Jehovah himself, "I know him that he will command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of Jehovah to do justice and judgment;" and you, with your many wives, must try to do the same. As a Christian, you cannot take more; but you must not be false to those you have already taken, and to the obligations you have already contracted lawfully, according to your own native customs. You must not, in the selfish hope of saving your own soul, commit an act of wrong to any of your wives and children."

It would take me too long to discuss this question now. But I have expressed my views plainly and fully on the subject in a pamphlet, a copy of which I lay upon the table, and beg leave to present to the library of this society. I believe that the subject is one of very

grave importance, and that it has not yet received that degree of attention which it merits from English philanthropists and English Christians. I am convinced that the present practice, not indeed of all, but of almost all, missionaries, in dealing with the question of polygamy, as it exists already in converts from heathenism, is a most effectual barrier against the great body of a polygamist people, like that in Natal or Zululand, coming even within the reach of the teaching of the missionary.

I have now mentioned some of the principal defects, as they appear to me, which might and ought to be remedied in the missionary proceedings of the present day. Mr. Reade would probably admit, on consideration, that his censures were really valid chiefly in reference to such defects. But it may now be asked, If so much difficulty, necessary or accidental, attends the work of missions, why engage in it at all? I answer, that the mere difficulty of the work is no reason why, if it lies in the path of duty, we should not engage in it; rather, I should say, it is an Englishman's reason for entering at once upon it, and a Christian's reason for persevering in it, with the confident assurance that God's strength will, in His own good time and way, be made perfect in our weakness.

It will be plain, however, by this time that, when I speak of the work of missionaries among savages, I do not mean by it merely teaching them to read the Bible, or to use a liturgy, or to repeat a catechism or a creed. Happily, no one can attempt to translate the Athanasian creed into the simple Zulu tongue: we could find no words to express the nice refinements of the Latin original,—themselves most probably mere translations of Greek forms of expression,—which are but imperfectly represented even by the English equivalents. So it may be a century, at least, before it will be possible to raise that old war-song of the ancient Church in the ears of a Zulu congregation; and by that time, let us hope, it may no longer be the source of bitter strife, heart-burning, and separation, in England. By that time we may have learned to put our trust in God—the Living God—and in His power to maintain His own truth in the world, instead of in man's poor devices of church-censures and anathemas, inhibitions, suspensions, deprivations, excommunications. Nor is it possible to convey into the Zulu tongue the complex phrases of our Prayer Book, the result of ages of high civilisation, and expressed in a language which is itself enriched with the spoils of time. I have endeavoured to do my duty in this respect: I have translated a great part of the Church Prayer Book; and I know that, though I have rendered it on the whole correctly, it is simply in many parts unintelligible to the native—some long circumlocution labouring to express a single pregnant formula, and making utter nonsense, as it falls on his ear. But what mother in her senses would take her young child to her knee, and make it lisp its first words of prayer in a Church Collect? She might as well teach it to pray in an unknown tongue.

So, then, we must teach the Zulus to pray, but in such simple forms as a child might use. We must teach them Christian Faith and Prac-

tice; but, surely, it will suffice, at least for this generation, if we teach it, as it was taught by Christ Himself, in the Lord's Prayer and in the Sermon on the Mount, without perplexing them with the difficulties and discussions of dogmatic theology. Such teaching as this they receive with joyful readiness; they imbibe it as mother's milk. "Our Father which art in Heaven!" *There* is the answer to the thoughts, which have been stirring in their own hearts already—while they have been feeling in the darkness after Him, if haply they might find Him, who was not far from any one of them. We have no difficulty in teaching them to use these words, or to cherish the precious ideas of God's love, protecting care, and faithfulness, connected with them. It is only when we try to indoctrinate them with the mysteries of the creeds that our own difficulties, as well as theirs, begin—unless, indeed, we are prepared to silence at once their questionings as idle and profane, or to lay down to them, with some divines, the law—"What the Catholic Church, during the first thousand years of her history, declared to be, or received as, the true faith, that *is* the true faith, and that we receive as such."

And so, too, it is comparatively easy to teach them to read the Bible reverently and devoutly—not, indeed, all parts of it, for there are portions which, although he may profess to regard them as the infallible eternal Word of God, no clergyman ever thinks it necessary or expedient to read and explain to his flock,—but such parts as are suited to them, the devotional Psalms, the simpler prophetic passages, the more edifying portions of the Old Testament history, the account of the life and death of our Lord. If I am asked, "Do you not mean then to put the whole Bible in their hands?" I answer, "Yes—in good time—when we know how to translate it." And I may say that here also I *have* done my best to provide the natives of Natal with the means of mastering for themselves the contents of our sacred books, having been the first to translate and publish in their tongue the books of Genesis and Exodus, as well as the whole of the New Testament. But I certainly shall not give them the Bible without teaching them how to read it—with the understanding, as well as with the heart—so as to draw from it divine instruction, "the sincere milk of the Word, that they may grow thereby," without, therefore, feeling bound to believe, on pain of eternal perdition, that every statement which they find in it, merely because found in it, is the "Word of God, infallibly true." How can I do this in face of the facts, which we have been already considering, that the most elementary scientific knowledge which, as stewards of the manifold gifts of God, we *must* impart to them, will be directly at variance with the Scripture accounts of the Creation, the Fall, and the Deluge? Or how, when the very mission, on which I am sent, is to root out their heathen superstitions, among which one of the most dire is a firm belief in witchcraft and sorcery, can I go with the Bible in my hands, and bid them receive the stories of witchcraft and demonology, which they find recorded there—the Witch of Endor, Satan's appearing in the Courts of Heaven—as "God's own Word, infallibly true"? Most reasonably did a native council in New Zealand argue, as I saw it reported lately in the journals

that "witchcraft must be punished by stoning". "If God had commanded it, it must be right." "If it was right *then*, it could not be wrong *now*." And it is a very serious question, as it seems to me, for those ministers of our great National Church, who will still maintain, amidst the light of modern civilisation, the dogma of the Infallibility of Scripture, to consider how far upon their heads lies the responsibility of the murder committed, in our own native land, within the last three years, upon a wretched old man, who was done to death by an English mob as a wizard in Essex. Are we never to tell the people, whether Englishmen or Zulus, the plain honest truth? Mr. Lecky, in his noble work just published, *The Rise and Influence of Rationalism in Europe*, while defending the English clergy of former days from those charges of inhuman cruelty, which blackened the characters of others, has yet said, with that sincerity and faithfulness, by which his work is distinguished throughout, as well as by moderation and fairness, "It is indeed too true, that the Bishops of the Anglican Church contributed much to the enactment of the laws against witchcraft,—that the immense majority of the clergy firmly believed in the reality of this crime,—and that *they continued to assert and defend it, when the great bulk of educated laymen had abandoned it.*" (Chap. i, p. 135.) And he says, also, that "the scepticism on the subject of witches was commonly branded as a phase and manifestation of infidelity," (p. 136.) Yet we are now thoroughly ashamed of the part taken by so many of our forefathers—even good men and true, like Judge Hale—in maintaining this particular phase of traditional belief; as, I doubt not, the next generation will be equally ashamed of the violence with which, in this age in which we live, some other traditional views have been maintained, though standing in direct contradiction with the plain results of Modern Science.

For me, however, I feel it to be a matter of bounden duty, not a matter of choice, to communicate to our heathen converts those facts of Modern Science of which we ourselves are assured, so far as their simple minds are able to receive them; and this includes, I need hardly say, the geological conclusions as to the vast age of the world, the great antiquity of man, the impossibility of a universal deluge. The knowledge which I possess of these would make it sinful in me to teach any heathen brother to believe in the historical truths of the scriptural accounts of the Creation and the Flood,—as other scientific reasons make it equally impossible to teach them the scriptural story of the Fall, and other parts of the Bible narrative, as historical facts. For I hold myself, as a Christian missionary, to be, as I have said, "a steward of the manifold gifts of God" for these my brethren. I regard it as an essential part of Christianity to believe that "God is with us" still, as He was of old, and as He has been all along,—instructing and enlightening the hearts of His children, guiding and governing the ages as they go, and educating, in His own wise way, by wondrous influences from without and from within, the human race in the clearer knowledge of Himself. The true missionary goes, as the "heir of all the ages," to convey to his fellowman whatever blessings he himself possesses, as the good gifts of the Father of

all. And thus every white man, who teaches the natives industry and cleanliness, and the arts of civilised life, may be in fact, as many a white man is, a true minister of God's Love to his fellows.

A civilised government also, such as ours in Natal, might do much, by establishing a system of schools, under government control and inspection, in connexion with each of the principal tribes, to advance the welfare of the savage population. Our natives pay, and have paid for many years contentedly, a hut-tax of seven shillings per hut, which adds now to the revenue a sum of £20,000 a-year, of which £5000 has been expressly reserved by the Queen to be devoted to their improvement. I believe that this fact is unique in the history of the British Colonies. I should greatly rejoice to hear that this sum was devoted wholly to the establishment of state schools, irrespective of any religious body, in which the elements of an ordinary education may be given, to be carried on further, in the case of the sons of chief men or more promising lads, in a central institution, still under government control and direction. If a band of—I say not ten thousand, but even—one hundred intelligent laymen, with some knowledge of industrial arts, were scattered over the land in this way as schoolmasters, under the inspection of the magistrates, but not coming themselves with magisterial power to enforce the law and to punish crime, coming rather as friends and counsellors and comforters of the chief and his tribe, it is impossible to say what good might not result; not merely by the gradual elevation of the whole native community, but by the kindly intercourse which would thus take place between the natives themselves and their children, and these commissioned servants of the Queen. There would be no difficulty here in having the boys brought to school; probably, even the girls might be easily gained; for the Queen's word is the highest law with our natives, as with other savage tribes, and there is no fear of their not recognising implicitly the Royal Supremacy, in this as well as other matters. The chiefs would take an interest in seeing with their own eyes the progress of the work among their people, especially in seeing that their own boys were able to read to them their little books of science or history, and to write for them their secret thoughts and messages. Thus the business would be done systematically, instead of being left, as now, to accidental missionary efforts; it would be done thoroughly and effectually, instead of being hindered, as now, by sectarian strifes and jealousies. And are we not bound by every sense of duty, to do as much as this for them? Must we allow them to suffer all the evil consequences of contact with civilisation, while as a nation we hold the land in our hands and take the taxes of the people, without also, as a nation, seeking to impart to them that chief blessing of civilisation, the benefit of education? Or must we sit, as a nation, coldly by, and allow the religious sects to squabble on about their own peculiar differences, while the people are perishing still, as far as this life is concerned, in heathen ignorance, idleness, vice, and superstition?

Yet, after all, there would be room for the missionaries. Among these youths, so taught and trained, there would be some, we may

hope—nay, we are sure, from past experience in the whole history of man—whose hearts would be touched with the divine desire to be themselves the teachers and educators of their brethren, not only as regards the things of this life, but as regards the life to come. And the native community itself, thus raised from a lower level, would desire to hear the message of life from the lips of these teachers. Such a man is my Zulu catechist, who signs himself William Bishopo, not meaning to say that he is Bishop, but implying that he still clings to me, as a clansman in Scotland clings to his chief. I have printed some of his letters to me, since I came to England, in a pamphlet, *Remarks on the Bishop of Capetown's Proceedings*, a copy of which I lay upon the table for the library of this Society. But the last letter which I received from him, and which has not been printed, is as follows, and will show, I think, some proof of the beneficial result of “Missionary Efforts among Savages”. I translate it literally from the Zulu.

“September month 29.

“SIR,—I thank you for your letter; it reached me; I heard it, all its story. But, sir, there is a thing which I was wishing to tell you clearly, to wit, that in fact as to the doing of the people, I don't wish to worry myself to no purpose, with the plentiful talk which comes from the people, white and black, of ours. ‘Sobantu has gone astray; he is condemned; he has no truth.’ About these matters, sir, they make my heart sink. I even left off to urge myself on about my work of teaching. I left it, beginning in May month 14 until to-day, September month 29. However, as to that unwillingness of mine my people trouble me much, saying I have forsaken them. But in all that I am looking for your return, because truly I put all my trust in all your teaching of me. It was that which gave me strength to know thoroughly our Father Unkulunkulu, who is over all. Sir, I supplicate blessing for you from our Father above; may He confirm you in that truth in which you confirm (others). And I too myself still hold fast that truth which I received from you, to wit, we are Unkulunkulu's,—He knows us. All that I received from you, that is what I stand by—I mean to know Him,—I mean to trust in Him,—every thing of that kind.

“I supplicate for you blessing entirely, saying, ‘May He who is over all stand with you, deliver you, grant you (grace) in England, bring you to Natal!’ for that truly is our glory, our wealth, that your return, Sir, Sobantu beloved. But, Sir, the thing which I don't understand is, your fighting with the white people, to wit, what are you fighting about? For, if it is that which I know of, *they* ought to believe, and leave you to return.”

Bishop Gray says repeatedly in his Journal, “What shall we do with this poor fellow?” I am afraid there is no hope for him: he is incurably bitten with the simple love of the truth; and what is worse, there are others, to my certain knowledge, in the same predicament. And who knows on how many other hearts such words as the following may have a dangerous effect, which were spoken by William's brother Jonathan to a class of native converts, living under the shadow of my residence, who have been left for the last three years to instruct

each other, without the aid of an European missionary. They are reported to me by a friend, who very lately visited one Sunday the Station where I live :

"The Sunday before last, I went out and spent at Bishopstowe. There were not many more than twenty (natives) present (in the chapel). I could with difficulty repress my feelings, when I pictured to myself those I had seen there, and whom I hope to see there again. . . . Jonathan preached, and I thought his sermon very clever in some parts, and very interesting in others. I suppose it was your heretical teaching. He spoke of the innate consciousness which every one possesses of what is right and what wrong. He was particularly happy, I thought, in some of his remarks on this point. He said,— 'When a man has done a wrong thing in secret, his heart does not wait to find out if any one saw him do it, before pronouncing judgment upon it; but it instantly condemns him. So also, if he has done a meritorious thing in secret, his heart witnesses to the merit and right of it, although no other has seen it.' He said, 'In the nature of things it was so: it was so on earth, and it was so in heaven. Whatever *was right*, *was right*, and we all bore witness to it, although our learning was but small, or none at all; and the same with that which was wrong.' Then came his amusing—I should rather say interesting—application. I am afraid some would call it 'heretical'. 'And this,' said he, 'is the meaning of the passage, "Whatever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatever ye shall loose, &c." It cannot be otherwise: right is right, and wrong is wrong, in heaven and upon earth; and so it always must be. It is as impossible for it to be otherwise, as it is that men should gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles.' "

I think that even Mr. Reade would allow that there is here also some evidence of the good result of "missionary efforts"; and, perhaps, he will think with me that no great harm would be likely to ensue, if what Bishop Gray dreads were really to take place, and a whole school of such teachers should be raised to infect the native mind generally with such teaching. But then the love of Christian men at home must send the first messengers of God's Living Word, to stir the hearts of such men,—to enlighten their understanding, to draw out their powers of thought, to clear their doubts, to answer their questionings.

Yes! those who have had their own hearts warmed with the knowledge of God's Love,—whose souls have realised the truth of their Creator's presence in the midst of His glorious universe,—whose spirits have been awakened to the consciousness of their high vocation, their mighty hope, their august parentage, as sons and daughters of the Lord Almighty,—who have known for themselves the blessedness of living, amidst all life's duties, trials, sorrows, in daily communion with God, the Father of spirits, the spring and source of all life, and truth, and love,—such as these cannot be content with having this blessing for themselves alone; they must help in some way to spread the knowledge of God's Love and Truth to others; their own joy would be utterly wanting in one of its chief ingredients, if they did not recog-

nise that the truths, which have refreshed and gladdened their own souls, are meant also for all mankind, and are only first granted to them, that they might each be, in his measure, the ministers of this great joy to others. We are all familiar with the words, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature." But, whatever criticism may do with the text which contains them, whatever outward sanction they may lose or still retain, they must continue always binding as the exposition of a clear human duty. The feelings of common brotherhood with which our God has gifted us, as real though faint reflections of that Great Love with which He embraces us all, would still urge many among us to go forth—personally, or by others sent in our name—to communicate to our brethren in heathen and savage lands those spiritual as well as temporal blessings in which we ourselves rejoice.

I cannot, therefore, allow that "whoever subscribes a guinea to a foreign mission is defrauding some starving Englishman of that guinea." I need not stop to say, what was truly observed on the former occasion, that among those who feel most deeply for the wants of the "starving Englishman", are very many, also, who are most earnest in the support of missionary work. But I do say that this feeling of love for our kind—this sense of the essential brotherhood of the great human family,—whether sprung from one first pair or more, whether developed from lower races or not,—which binds us all together as beings gifted with reason and conscience, and therefore capable of knowing, loving, and glorifying our Creator, and of loving and honouring each other, as reflecting the image of God,—this spirit, in short, which prompts the missionary to go, and the friends of missions at home to send him, while at the same time they are not found neglecting the calls which God makes upon them in His Providence nearer home at their very doors,—is quite as noble and generous as the spirit of scientific inquiry, which carries men into other fields of arduous and patient labour, and which has led, I believe, a recent traveller to risk the dangers of the West African coast in search of our (supposed) ancestral ape.

And as to the expenditure, let us suppose that each Englishman has confined his outlay on his own personal needs, and those of others dependent on him, to what is strictly necessary, and given every farthing of the remainder to help to raise the status of his fellow-countrymen at home of the degraded classes,—not, observe, by mere almsgiving, which is often absolutely pernicious, but by well-considered and well-organised schemes for their improvement. Then will it be time to grudge the few thousands of guineas, which go out of the purse of the old country to help her colonists, deprived as they are of those religious advantages which are here at home inherited from the munificence of former ages, that they may live truly human, divinely irradiated, lives, and to raise the multitudes, who hang on the outskirts of civilisation under our rule, to a like condition, instead of having recourse to the somewhat *expensive* process of keeping them down by the sword.

In short, whether this work of brotherly kindness is to be done at

home or abroad, it is not "the guinea" that will do it. It is not money—it is love, and faith, and the spirit of self-sacrifice, in obedience to a higher law of duty, which is, in fact, the very essence of Christianity itself,—which in some way or other we must exercise, if we are true sons of the Living God,—which in some way or other we must be taught to exercise, if we would live the life eternal,—and which the Christian learns from the example of his Lord, and, above all, at the foot of the Cross.

At the close of the paper, the PRESIDENT observed that the applause had been sufficiently loud and prolonged to indicate in the most striking manner the approval of the meeting, whose thanks he begged to convey in their name to Bishop Colenso for the very able paper he had laid before them. Before calling upon others to speak on the questions which had been raised, he wished to make a few remarks himself. Doubtless there were some present, who, on hearing the paper, would think that the Anthropological Society was a very extraordinary society indeed. There was much in the paper which had no direct bearing on the subject of anthropology. Theirs was a scientific society bound to no set formulæ or doctrines, seeking only the exposition of anthropological science. He must remind those gentlemen who might be desirous of speaking, that he could not allow any reference to be made to remarks that fell at the previous meeting. What they had to consider were the anthropological bearings of the subject. Religion, he believed, was a test of race. How far have we influenced savage races by our philosophical ideas? What was the effect of a contact between a superior and inferior race? And what part did the religion of a people take in their general condition? If religion consisted in faith, why did not the simple-minded African believe? This was a scientific question; likely to throw much light on the psychology of the primary races of man. To what extent could tribes be taught to comprehend Christianity? It was very desirable to understand their psychological condition, so that it might be known what they could be made to believe, and what could really be instilled into their minds. The amount of truth in particular religions could not be discussed; and it was even an assumption that religion did affect the physical and mental condition of man. If mobs at Exeter Hall did applaud missionary labours, or supposing 11,000 men had been making fools of themselves, he could not see how that affected the subject under discussion. He had heard there were many clergymen who would like to burn him, and many other members of the Anthropological Society, if they could. How, he would ask, could mere theologians, teachers of catechisms and creeds, do any good to any people whatever? It had been said that people not believing in any religion "scarcely deserved to be ranked as human beings." This was a new definition, and one quite novel to anthropologists. He would pass over the question as to the infallibility of the Scriptures as not bearing on the subject under discussion, but he would say that he was very glad to hear Bishop Colenso remark that he was deter-

mined to keep back no scientific facts from the natives. As to the impossibility of the Deluge, the Society recognised nothing as impossible which was not so mathematically. The Bishop of Natal has asked, "Were sectarian squabbles to be always allowed to hinder progress, and religious differences to be always engaging the attention of their respective advocates, while people, so far as this life was concerned, were left in heathen ignorance, idleness, vice, and superstition?" And this, too, when Mohammedanism was competing with Christianity. But the question for us to consider was, what should these ignorant degraded savages be taught? Would it suffice to teach them, as the Bishop proposed, the "Lord's Prayer" and the "Sermon on the Mount"? There were two parties present, and he thought Bishop Colenso's statements would not please either. Should they accept the facts which had been laid before them, and as a true conservative society make use of the existing missionaries, or should they try to teach them a simple system of moral philosophy, on which there could be no quarrelling? He most heartily joined the Bishop in asking, "were they never to tell Englishmen or Zulus the truth?" In conclusion, he must state that the Fellows of the Anthropological Society were not at enmity with Missionary Societies—but they were the friends of the inferior races of man, wherever they were to be found. He was sure the Fellows of the Society were thankful to Bishop Colenso for his outspoken, manly, and eloquent discourse. They, too, were the seekers and lovers of truth, though they would not follow Dr. Colenso into the dispute between him and other members of the Church.

The Rev. DUNBAR HEATH hoped that no admiration of the eminent man whose paper they had heard would prevent calm and impartial discussion on so important a subject. He would not waste time in compliments of the very interesting and graphic description Dr. Colenso had presented of the struggle for religious existence among the races of men in South Africa. He was a Darwinian, and carried those opinions into all these questions. He thought the meeting had to consider what was likely to be the ultimate success of missionary labours in spreading religion among a race where it was struggling to modify itself, and where it would rectify itself in time. From what had been said, we could imagine that the people of the settlements and the natives were each struggling for existence. There were also two mission institutions among them which had nominally the same object, but whose methods of proceeding were as different and as contrary as any two in the world. For his part, he did not know what the saving of souls meant. It seemed to him that it was chiefly desirable to elevate the whole human race as much as possible, and by infusing a Christian spirit and fair play in the world, to raise the character of man. History told them that no two races had ever lived long near one another without modification or amalgamation. In most cases, it was mutual modification that took place. There were three instances of this in the Christian religion itself. It had been three times modified before reaching them, and it would have to be again modified before it was diffused in Africa. It was well known that the book of Daniel, which contained so many lofty thoughts, was of Gen-

tile origin. Again, the Christian religion was profoundly modified by the Aryan Greeks, who were not a Semitic race. And next the Aryanism of the Greek met with the Teutonic conceptions, when such things as heaven and hell were introduced, for they had been nowhere found in the Bible. It was now known by a recent decision in his own case, that the phrases going to heaven and going to hell might be rejected by any clergyman of the Church of England. The four powers he had alluded to might still contend, but he was the last to curtail true Christian influence, which was certain to be eventually beneficial.

Mr. WINWOOD READE and the Rev. WILLIAM ARTHUR then rose almost simultaneously, and appeals being made to the chair, the President announced that the former gentleman would address the meeting as soon as the disturbance had ceased.

Mr. READE thought they had arrived at a remarkable epoch as theologians and men of science. He had nothing to dissent from in the remarks of Bishop Colenso, though there were many points on which his Lordship had differed from him. Those points had been dealt with in a moderate and gentlemanly manner, and he had nothing to say upon them. He was opposed to Christian missions as now generally conducted, but he did not object to them as conducted by Bishop Colenso. He might congratulate the meeting on having heard the truth, for that was the first time that a missionary in a public meeting had ventured openly to speak the truth. He would like to see missions for arts and trade; and when the people were sufficiently cultivated, for science also. The French had done this in the Senegal River; for that was a Mohammedan country, and if the missionaries had taught religion, the sons of the chiefs would have ceased to go to them for instruction in art. The fact was that missionary enterprise was the romance of religion, and it would be a long time before this romance was eradicated. It was the duty of a traveller to point out defects that they might be remedied. He thought that the missionaries themselves were not disinclined to give in to advanced notions. For instance, in regard to polygamy, Dr. Colenso himself did not make that a barrier to the teaching of the natives. In his opinion, the real opponents of missionary labour were at home, and were to be found among the directors of missionary work, who did not understand the real bearings of the case. If polygamy was legal among the natives, it was better to put up with it. He would ask, whether when missionaries found they could not induce the men to get rid of their wives, it was better to excommunicate them, or to endeavour to teach them notwithstanding. There were many Fetish customs loudly complained of, which to the natives were not more Fetish than the familiar custom of putting holly and evergreens in our houses at Christmas.

The Rev. WILLIAM ARTHUR conceived the question was rather one of missionary efforts among savages, than of doctrine. It was not a question of race merely. Much had, indeed, been said on that subject, and many equivocal facts had been adduced. He would not be doing his duty were he to attest facts by doctrine, for doctrine

should rather be attested by facts. The President's question as to what part religion had in the condition of a people was, in his opinion, a fair one. In their normal state, the negroes had but one religion, and it was fair to discuss their condition after Christian contact. When Christianity first reached the negro, he was uncontaminated; then he became contaminated by a partial conversion, and was partly Christian and partly heathen; and, lastly, he was, or was thought to be, entirely converted. He would ask, whether the morals of the negro were not better where Christianity had not reached him? Was not the negro at Sierra Leone, for instance, morally inferior to his fellow in Central Africa? The Aryan race might have wrought some improvement, but it had not had sufficient time to propagate itself extensively. The next point was, whether Christianity had made them better or worse, where it had penetrated? Which natives were the best, those who were most Christian, or those who were not at all Christian? It had been said that Christian missionary efforts would not succeed, because the people were Aryan, and that time would again modify the Christianity, as at Alexandria; but he contended that the modifications had been in a backward direction, and that there were not now the simple Semitic forms of the past. He would take, for example, the greatest modification of all, which took place at the Reformation—that had nothing to do with race. He had no objection to Bishop Colenso's theory of conversion. Could he bring them to an island of people converted on that plan? It should be remembered that blessing was not philosophy.

The Rev. Dr. IRONS observed that it had been said it was a rarity for a clergyman to speak the truth.

Mr. READE explained that he had used the word *missionary*.

The PRESIDENT, being referred to, confirmed Mr. Reade's statement.

The Rev. Dr. IRONS said he was satisfied if Mr. Reade withdrew that remark. He continued, that the question appeared to him to be, had the Christian missions been a failure or not? Should they be encouraged or discouraged? That was really the question in its simplest form. Bishop Colenso's paper exhibited courage, simplicity, and many touches of noble-heartedness, but he did not gather from it how the matter was to be dealt with. Were they to infer that the missionaries were engaged in hopeless endeavours? He protested against opinions on theological questions being thrown out, as had been done by Dr. Colenso, when they could not, on account of the place and occasion, be met by reply, which he would freely give if permitted. He considered it unfair, but he used that expression not offensively, but in the "anthropological sense". He had hoped the Bishop would have said in what sense the Apostles meant the saving of souls, but they were left in the dark as to whether he believed in that at all, though he had not scrupled to cast aside the creeds of eighteen hundred years.

The PRESIDENT interrupted the speaker, to remind him that the Society had not met to discuss what Bishop Colenso had not said, but what he had.

The Rev. Dr. IRONS further complained that he had not been told

how far Christian missions could succeed among the heathen. They had been told by the Rev. Dunbar Heath that Christianity had gone through three modifications; but that gentleman might rather have said thirty-three. They had nothing to do there with the doctrines of the Trinity, etc. But, if Christianity were true (and he had no doubt of it himself), they ought to learn what it was doing among these savage peoples; and on that subject they had received no information. He would say, however, that, but for the missionaries, there would have been no Anthropological Society. It was their efforts that had furnished the base of the science; and, in his opinion, anthropology owed everything to them. He believed in a bright prospect wherever British effort was directed; and, if they did not despair of the doctrines they believed, those doctrines should be pushed wherever Britons went. The apostles did not propose the plan suggested by Bishop Colenso.

The PRESIDENT remarked that it was not a question of method, but of failure or success.

The Rev. Dr. IRONS continued by observing that the apostles did not begin by teaching from books at all, yet they did their work. How did they do it? What was termed the literary method, viz., translations, etc., had been tried in the present day; but how did the apostles do their work? He feared he should offend a great many gentlemen there present by the remark he was about to make on this subject, but he was not afraid of offending them. The fact was, that the apostles did their work by colonising wherever they went. They collected a band of converts, who acted as a centre from which their doctrines were spread around; and, indeed, this system of colonising or church-making was the only way of propagating a faith. In the earliest ages there were no documents, and hence there could have been no reference to documents as such. He did not think written doctrine at all necessary; for surely God did not intend a literary method to be employed, when only one in ten persons would have understood it. In the second century, Christianity was propagated among the heathen without books; why could it not be done so now?

Mr. BENDYSHE thought there were two reasons for the ill success of the missionaries besides the question of race. These were the general superiority of the missionaries to the natives, and the public theatre in which they were compelled to act. The public criticism to which they were subjected was very unfavourable. Dr. Irons had said that the apostles taught without the aid of books; but, for his part, he had come to the very opposite conclusion. He did not know when that gentleman thought Christianity began, but St. Paul taught first by books, for did he not write epistles?

The Rev. Dr. IRONS here said that the epistles of the New Testament were not written till thirty or forty years after the time of our Lord.

Mr. BENDYSHE continued, by drawing attention to the false gospels. Some of the earliest spurious publications had imposed even on St. Jude himself, and others. What was wanted at the present time, was a series of stories to suit the capabilities of the hearers; and since the missionaries were not allowed to forge stories for this

purpose, they were not successful. The apostles owed a great deal of their success to stories in their time. In many places where Christianity did exist, it was now extinct; as, for instance, in Palestine, Turkey, etc. In fact, Christianity was not suited for propagation. How were our ancestors converted? Certainly not by pure gospel—that would have made no impression on them. He attributed the want of success to the lack of false stories; for Christianity only appeared to succeed through human agency, and by human devices. There were no negro dogmas, and hence the dogmas of Christianity assumed no shape in the negro mind. It might be expected to go through all the phases in Africa that it had gone through in Europe: but the negroes received it in whatever shape it was presented to them, and this he regarded as a bad sign. The question to be determined was, whether this Christianity could ever be inserted into the negro mind.

Mr. REDDIE said that he should not follow the remarks of Mr. Bendyshe; but if that gentleman's theory were a correct one, it had negatived the chance of the rev prelate's success as a missionary in South Africa; for according to his theory, fables are required to make Christianity succeed. He did not wish to discuss the existence of heaven and hell; but, with regard to the negro or other pagans, he did not admit that Christianity taught they were all doomed to the latter place. On the contrary, the heathen were regarded generally as left to "the uncovenanted mercies of God." He would say that the *Record* and Dr. M'Neile, as quoted by the bishop, did not represent the authorised teaching of Christians. He congratulated Bishop Colenso on having at any rate converted Mr. Reade, who had just said that he did not dissent from his lordship's remarks.

Mr. READE rose to say that he meant he would not dissent, for that he would not then discuss the matter.

Mr. REDDIE repeated that he understood Mr. Reade had agreed with the bishop; and the words he had used he believed were spoken by Mr. Reade. As to polygamy, he had called the opinion that the negroes liked polygamy, "Anthropology in petticoats".

The PRESIDENT reminded him that that was not what they had met to discuss.

Mr. REDDIE continued, that polygamy was identified with female slavery; and he was again interrupted by

The PRESIDENT, who said that they were not discussing polygamy, but the advantages of missionary work.

Mr. REDDIE then proceeded with his remarks on polygamy, when

Mr. HENRY BROOKES rose to order; for he thought the real question was the capacity of the negro to receive the Christian faith, and the method of teaching.

Mr. REDDIE accepted Mr. Brooks' definition, and was proceeding with his views on polygamy, as bearing upon "the method of teaching", when he was reminded by

The PRESIDENT that Bishop Colenso had not discussed that question at all, that he had laid a separate paper respecting it on the table, and that the meeting could not entertain what was not in the paper before them, which referred only to missionary labour.

Mr. REDDIE resumed, by remarking that Bishop Colenso had stated that this question of polygamy was one with which he had had great difficulty in dealing, and had even been obliged to ignore; but this was surprising, as Mohammedism was making great progress, though enjoining great restrictions in this matter. Polygamy was always associated with a degraded state of woman, and it was impossible to elevate man where woman was degraded. But Christianity, with all its faults in Europe, was not to be compared with the degradation and vices among Mohammedans. As to the bishop's scheme of educating the negro children, he thought it would be found impracticable. The first Christians did not begin by teaching the children, and leave their parents without instructing them in the principles of Christianity. From what was known of the mechanical teaching, advocated by Dr. Colenso, he considered that it had quite failed to produce the results intended when formerly tried. There was testimony of this in the Report of the Select Committee "On Aborigines (British Settlements)" in 1836; and, for his part, he felt sure that the only way to elevate man was by the elevating influences of religion.

Mr. WALLACE observed that, after so eloquent and amusing a discussion, there was not much for him to say; but as a traveller he had seen something of the missionaries and their works, and his general impression was that the success attained was due rather to personal character than to doctrine. He was delighted with the bishop's view of the subject; for, in his opinion, nothing but simple teaching could be effective among savage peoples. The Zulus, with whom Dr. Colenso had to do, were considerably higher in intellectual status than, for instance, the aborigines of Australia, who can hardly count above three or five, and are incapable of comprehending that two and three make five. To such people it is idle to speak of religion, they cannot understand what it means. The best effects are produced when the missionary shows that he has no selfish interest—that he seeks only to do good; and this, in the speaker's opinion, would move the people more than aught besides.

Notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, Captain FISHBOURNE, Dr. UNDERHILL, and Mr. BURNARD OWEN here rose to speak, when

The PRESIDENT took the opinion of the meeting as to whether the discussion should be continued, as the engagements of the Society prevented the possibility of adjournment. It then appeared that there were only thirteen votes for the continuance and an overwhelming majority against it, and the President therefore called upon the Bishop of Natal to reply.

The BISHOP OF NATAL observed that he should only detain the meeting a few moments in replying to one or two of the comments which had been made. He had been told that he had not stated what progress had been really made by the missionaries; but he must remind the meeting under what conditions his paper had been written. When Mr. Reade's paper appeared, he felt he was in duty bound to show what were the unavoidable drawbacks on missionary efforts, which partly accounted for the appearance of failure, and at the same time to

point out some of the removeable causes of the defects he had mentioned; and this was what he had endeavoured to do. As to apostolic teaching, St. Paul had not hesitated to make use of his literary powers, which he exhibited in the quotations from other writers which his epistles contain. It was true that there were no printed books then, but there were parchments, which answered the same purpose; and St. Paul was particularly careful to charge Timothy not to forget to bring them with him. Moreover, if St. Paul wrote letters to his flocks, he must have had converts who could read them; and, in short, he made all the use that he could of the education of his time, and would, no doubt, have employed the printing-press, if he had had it at his command. But, as he had said, he was not going to discuss many of the questions that had been raised. He thought that God had given them powers to convert the natives, and we had no more right to keep back from them scientific truths, than those of the Bible. We ought to make use of all God's agents, among which was science. He further stated his opinion that, when a missionary went out as a scientific man, his superior skill and learning, coming to the natives from a distant nation, appeared to them quite miraculous, and wrought upon their wonderment and awe. The right rev. bishop stated, in conclusion, that he thanked the meeting for the patience with which they had listened to the long address with which he had felt it necessary to trouble them.

The meeting then adjourned.

JUNE 6TH, 1865.

THE PRESIDENT, DR. JAMES HUNT, IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The names of the following twenty-two gentlemen, who had been elected Fellows since the last meeting, were announced:—Arthur Vacher, Esq., 29, Parliament Street, S.W.; J. Spence Ramskill, Esq., M.D., M.R.C.P., 5, St. Helen's Place, London; R. S. Sisson, Esq., M.D., 3, Warrington Terrace, Maida Vale, W.; J. B. Symonds, Esq., Clifton Hill House, Bristol; J. Langdon H. Down, Esq., M.D. Lond., Earlswood Asylum, Redhill; James H. Moore, Esq., Brook Street, Cheetham, Manchester; T. S. Barrett, Esq., A.A., Langley House, Grove Lane, Camberwell; Joseph Cowen, jun., Esq., Stella House, Newcastle; Frank Wrentmore, Esq., 3, Little Argyle Street, Regent Street; Edward Anderson, Esq., M.R.C.S., 3, Tavistock Street, Covent Garden; John Allen Brown, Esq., F.R.G.S., Scaleby Lodge, 241, Camden Road, N.W.; Champion Wetton, Esq., F.R.G.S., Somerset Hill, near Dorking; T. J. Sanderson, Esq., 5, Regent's Park Terrace; Major-Gen. William Lang, 33, Bury Street, St. James's; W. T. Marriott, Esq., 36, Half Moon Street, Piccadilly; James T. J. Doyle, Esq., Assist.-Surgeon, Madras Army; William Martin Wilkinson, Esq., New West End, Hampstead, N.; Robert Wood, Esq., 26, Cable Street, Liverpool; F. Braby, Esq., F.G.S., 28, Osnaburgh Street, N.W.; William Story, Esq., Grove Street, South Hackney, N.E.;